MISSISSIPPI VALLEY BEGINNINGS

HENRY E. CHAMBERS

Place d'Armes—Now, Jackson Square—New Orleans

(From an old rare print)

One of the most historic spots in the Mississippi Valley. Here, colonial governors during the French and Spanish dominations of the Valley, were received, presented their credentials and issued their proclamations. Here, the formal ceremony marking the transfer of sovereignty over the Valley—from France to Spain, from Spain back to France and from France to the United States—was staged at each successive change of authority.

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Mississippi Valley Beginnings

An Outline of the Early History of the Earlier West

By

Henry E. Chambers

Member, Louisiana State Historical Society

Author, The Hansell Series of American Histories; "West Florida and its Relation to the Historical Cartography of the United States"; "An Introduction to the Study of Louisiana History"; "The Territory of Orleans" and "Modern Louisiana"—*Building of the Nation Series*, etc.

Illustrated

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In Memoriam

HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS

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Foreword

VOLUMES have been written upon the so-called "West," that seem to ignore its broader significance and assume it to be an area of limited extent whose confines extend but little beyond those of a comparatively few States, particularly those carved from what was once known as the Northwest Territory.

Other volumes have been devoted to certain phases and periods of Western pioneer life, but take little account of racial elements other than the Anglo-Saxon, notwithstanding these others have lived this life and contributed to its social and institutional expression.

Still other volumes give titular attention to "Louisiana" as embracive of the whole Mississippi Valley. Yet, in their detailed narratives of French and Spanish dominations, the vision of their readers is made to extend but little beyond the boundaries proper of the State that now bears that name. In concentrating upon the small portion of the Valley contiguous to the Gulf, they either ignore those of English-speaking stock who forced the fastnesses of the Appalachians, to

make the West in time their own, or they set them down as somewhat of a racial irritant whose effect upon the cultured and enlightened Latins of the lower Valley was that of the Barbarian upon ancient Rome.

It is, therefore, attempted in the present work to correlate these fragmentary treatments; to give a reasonably comprehensive view of the Mississippi Valley as a whole; to set forth not only how the earlier West, as distinguished from the later West of plain and prairie, was wrested from the wilderness and won to civilization but to include as far as space permits all the antagonistic forces that spelt struggle, all the coöperating elements that made for its rapid peopling and inspired its social and institutional beginnings.

A subject of such magnitude can be projected upon the canvas of a single volume only by means of the broad brush strokes of an impressionist. The author has touched in, here and there, certain details, however, as high-lights calculated to bring out with greater definiteness what he has endeavored to convey as a whole.

Acknowledgment is hereby made to the many contributors to the written history of the West, whose works merit mention in the Bibliography attached to this volume, works which he has read and consulted with pleasure and profit.

Special acknowledgment is due Mr. Henry M. Gill of the New Orleans Public Library, Mr.

William Beer of the Howard Memorial Library and the able staff of assistants of both institutions, for many courtesies extended during the preparation of the present work and for having placed unreservedly before him the ample resources of those two important repositories of historical information.

Finally a hope is entertained that notwithstanding the deficiencies which in all probability will reveal themselves, in the present work these will be found not sufficiently serious to detract either from the interest students of history derive from such summaries and generalizations as this volume presents, or from that of the lay reader to whom as a class historical narrative as a branch of literature is making more and more of an appeal.

H. E. C.

New Orleans, August 1, 1922.

CONTENTS

THE VALLEY AS WILDERNESS

CHAPTER I

PAGE

THE WESTWARD PUSH OF THE AMERICAN PIONEER . 3

The Valley as a geographical entity—Queen Region of the Western World—The army of occupation that was to sweep westward, its scouts, skirmishers, main body—Rapidity with which the earlier West was peopled—Dr. Ferrero's theory of cause—Social forces impelling to movement analyzed—*Lures* and *Urges*—Man's instinct to move westward—Significant steps in the growth and development of the West—Jonathan Carver's prophecy.

CHAPTER II

TRAVEL WAYS OF EARLY DAYS 13

Primitive aids to travel and transportation—Indian traces and trails—Animal paths antedating Indian trails—Use of waterways—The bark canoe—*Portages*—Location of *portages* that determined routes of exploration and travel—Standardization of the canoe—The *pirogues* of the lower Valley—*Bateaux plats* and *radeaux*—Development of the keelboat and broadhorn—Dangers of early Mississippi navigation—Commerce and travel between the French settlements of Illinois and Louisiana—Why ingress into the Valley from Canada took a westward instead of a southward trend.

I. A FRENCH POSSESSION

CHAPTER III

DREAMS OF EMPIRE 31

Beginnings of the Valley's recorded history—De Soto and the discovery of the Mississippi—French explorational

PAGE

activity in the upper part of the Valley—Brulé, Nicollet, Marquette and Joliet—First historic voyage down the Mississippi—La Salle of Canada and his first ventures into the wilderness—His dream of a mid-continent empire for France—Tonty-of-the-Iron-Hand.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRINCE OF AMERICAN EXPLORERS . . . 43

La Salle begins his task—The tragedy of the *Griffon—Creve-Coeur*—Thwartings and delays in the Illinois country—Return to Canada and a new start—Father Hennepin detached and sent to the Minnesota country—La Salle and Tonty heads the main expedition down stream—Mission accomplished by reaching the Mississippi's mouth—La Salle's tragic end.

CHAPTER V

FRENCH BEGINNINGS IN THE LOWER VALLEY . . 52

Sieur d'Iberville—The settlement of Biloxi—Massacre Island and its "Ballroom for the Witches of Hell"—Bienville, the Captain John Smith of the Biloxi colony—Pest ships—Mobile settlement—Hardships—Dependence upon the neighboring Indians for food—La Sueur makes his way to the upper Valley in search of copper—Casket Girls—Petticoat Insurrection—The grant to Crozat—Institution of civil government—Cadillac, governor—Founding of Natchitoches—Natchez—Crozat's failure.

CHAPTER VI

A BUBBLE AND ITS BURSTING. 60

John Law, financial genius—Some ideas of his, anticipatory of later-day "Big Business"—His *Companie de la Louisiana ou d'Occident* and *Compagnie des Indes*—Founding of New Orleans—Nomenclature of its first streets—Earliest description of the town—Its first census four years after founding—Land grants along the river—Sieur Renaud's Missouri grant—The first introduction of slavery into the Upper Valley—Influx of Germans into the French colony—Ger-

PAGE

manic origin of many Louisiana-French family names—Law's failure and his accomplishment.

II. BEGINNINGS OF THE ENGLISH ADVANCE WESTWARD

CHAPTER VII

RACE BARRIERS AND THEIR REMOVAL . . . 71

The spread of the Atlantic seaboard colonies westward—European colonizing nations and their relations with the Red Man—The first tier of Indian wars marking the progress of the English into the interior—The second line of Indian opposition and its breaking—The French of Canada anticipate the English in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys—Brilliant examples of French initiative showing superiority of enterprise over the English—Dogged persistence of the English and their faculty of "muddling through."

CHAPTER VIII

THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY 78

Scotch Irish and Pennsylvania-German migrations to the western Valleys of Virginia—Need for expansion westward—Survey of the Great Woods—First clashings with the French—Washington defeats Jumonville's brother—The struggle finally ends in England's favor—Territorial changes—Dissensions over the result leading up to the American Revolution—Further challenges to the Red Man's opposition.

III. THE FURL OF THE FLEUR-DE-LYS FLAG

CHAPTER IX

A LATIN ECHO TO AMERICA'S LIBERTY CALL . . 87

The Valley divided between England and Spain—Spain acquires New Orleans and the west half of the Valley—Bitter protest of the Louisianians against the change of sovereign authority—Don Antonio de Ulloa arrives from Peru to become the first governor of Spanish Louisiana—Lafrénière's revolt—Expulsion of Ulloa—France fails her patriotic sons in the colony—Lafrénière's remarkable enunciation of principles antedating similar expressions in the English colonies.

CHAPTER X

PAGE

SPAIN'S BLUDGEON FALLS 100

Don Alexander O'Reilly arrives upon his mission of vengeance —Aubry's treachery—Arrest and trial of the ring leaders— Their plea set aside—Laurels of revolution turned to willows of defeat—The verdict—Martyrdom.

CHAPTER XI

THE DON ESTABLISHES HIS DOMINION . . . 107

Institution of Spanish Colonial government in lower and upper Louisiana—Officials and their functions—The Cabildo—French laws replaced by those of the *Recopilcion de los Indios*—The "Black Code" and its features— O'Reilly's mission accomplished—Don Luis de Unzaga assumes the governorship—Spanish governors of the Valley and the order of their serving.

IV. VALLEY DOMINANCY OF THE DONS

CHAPTER XII

FIRST TRANS-MISSISSIPPI MIGRATIONS—UPPER SPANISH LOUISIANA. 117

French settlements in Illinois—Fur trade and the search for silver—Founding of St. Genevieve—Laclede and Chouteau and the beginnings of St. Louis—General migration of the Illinois French across the river to escape English jurisdiction —Francisco Rios, first Spanish governor of the upper Valley —His successors.

CHAPTER XIII

THE HABITANS OF THE UPPER VALLEY . . . 122

Prosperity of the Illinois and Missouri settlements—Trade with New Orleans and Quebec—French system of land-holding—Village life of the *habitans*—Some characteristics of the early French pioneers in Illinois and Missouri—Spanish encouragement to western settlers—Daniel Boone becomes a Spanish subject—George Morgan and New Madrid—Spanish land-grants and their validating.

CHAPTER XIV

PAGE

THE COMING OF THE ACADIANS TO THE LOWER VALLEY 131

Forced removal of the Acadians from their country—How they reached Louisiana—The first little band to arrive in New Orleans—Pilgrims of the migration to follow—Dauterive's compassion for them—Why they took up their abode on the Attakapas prairies—The Acadians as true pioneers.

CHAPTER XV

LIFE IN THE ATTAKAPAS COUNTRY 138

Acadian French and Illinois French contrasted—Acadian characteristics—Their aloofness—Social life—Pioneer industries—A visit to a typical Acadian household—The "Cajun" housewife—Specimen "Cajun" *menu*—*Emigrés* from the French Revolution—St. Martinsville on the Teche—A legend of "Little Paris."

CHAPTER XVI

THE VALLEY IN THE WAR OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION 147

George Rogers Clark's conquest of the Northwest Territory for Virginia—Coöperation of the French *habitans* with Clark—The County of Illinois—Captain John Todd, Provisional Governor—Father Gibault—The victory of Vincennes—Spain joins with France and the American Colonies in the war against England—British West Florida, England's fourteenth colony—Pensacola made capital—Disposition of West Floridians to be loyal to the Crown—Willing's raid—Oliver Pollock and his contributions to the American cause—The "Robert Morris of the West"—Sinclair's expedition against the Spaniards of St. Louis—Gallantry of Pierre and August Chouteau—Don Pouré's expedition against St. Joseph, Mich.—The conquest of West Florida by Galvez—Spain acquires treaty rights to the two Floridas.

CHAPTER XVII

SPANISH INTRIGUE AND WESTERN UNREST . . 162

Spain's real motive in taking up arms against England—Dependence of the Kentucky and Tennessee settlers upon free

PAGE

navigation of the Mississippi—Effect of closure of the river by Spain—Stimulation of the live stock industry—Industrial growth of Cincinnati—"Porkopolis"—Spanish authorities at New Orleans play fast and loose with the Ohio valley settlers—Jay's Treaty and its irritating effects upon the Westerners—Weakness of the American government under the Articles of Confederation—Its failure to command the respect and loyalty of the Western settlers—Self-interest paramount in community life as well as individual.

CHAPTER XVIII

A Stormy Petrel of Western Life . . . 170

General James Wilkinson—Adverse judgment of him by eminent historians—His relations with Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson and Adams—Courts-martial and Courts of Inquiry—Summary of his military career—His retirement from the army—Enters mercantile life—Becomes a citizen of Kentucky—Kentucky's repeated demands for Statehood found expression through him—His efforts to open the Mississippi River to the Westerners—His first trading venture to New Orleans—Wilkinson and Miro—His second venture and its subsequent results—His reëntrance into the army—Appointed Colonel by Washington as a reward for his success against the western Indians after Harmar's defeat—Becomes Commander-in-chief of the United States Army.

CHAPTER XIX

The Waning of Spain's Power 180

Spain encourages Westerners to settle upon Spanish territory—Early comers to the Natchez district—Spain's hope to acquire the eastern half of the Valley fades with the establishment of the Federal Union—The "Yazoo Claims"—Florida boundary treaty with the United States—Consecutive steps in Spain's decline of power in America.

V. THE PASSING OF A PROVINCE

CHAPTER XX

A Pawn and Four Players 187

Napoleon's efforts to reacquire Louisiana (the Mississippi Valley)—His pressure upon Spain—His contract as to con-

PAGE

sideration to be exchanged—His failure to comply—The Secret Treaty of San Ildefonso—Napoleon prepares to take possession—The Haitian expedition and its disastrous end —The San Domingo revolt and its contribution to the Valley's population—Napoleon's decision to sell Louisiana to the Americans—Flatboat trade with the lower Valley begins in earnest—Temporary halt to this trade and ensuing clamor of protest—Kentuckians threaten to invade Louisiana still in official possession of Spain.

CHAPTER XXI

AN IMPERIALISTIC PURCHASE 196

The United States determines to purchase New Orleans or Florida or both—Livingston's negotiations—Monroe's part in the purchase following his appointment as Minister Extraordinary—Napoleon sells the whole of Louisiana—Marbois' testimony as to Napoleon's reasons for selling—The formal signing of the treaty of sale—Napoleon's farewell to Louisianians as subjects of France—How French-speaking Louisiana has honored his memory.

CHAPTER XXII

TRANSFERRINGS OF TITLE 205

Disappointment over non-arrival of General Victor—Arrival of Colonial Prefect Laussat—Elements in the colony opposed to French acquirement—Laussat's proclamation announcing the retrocession of Louisiana to France—Casa Calvo officiates for Spain—Social rivalries of Casa Calvo and Laussat—France's second domination lasts but twenty days —The ceremony of transfer to the United States—Governor Claiborne of Mississippi Territory and General James Wilkinson act for the United States—Imperialism makes its first appearance in the governmental policy of the United States—The formal transfer of the upper Valley takes place at St. Louis—Exact limits of the Purchase, a mooted question—West Florida in dispute—Spain holds West Florida for seven years after the Louisiana purchase—West Floridians revolt and set up an independent government —Annexed to the United States: Greater part becomes the "Florida Parishes" of the present State of Louisiana.

VI. THE VALLEY AMERICAN

CHAPTER XXIII

PAGE

AMERICA'S FIRST "SCRAP OF PAPER" . . . 219

Opposition in Congress against incorporating Louisianians as full citizens of the United States—Purchase pledges, violated—Degraded position of Louisianians under the first territorial government—Public meetings of protest—Delegation of three sent to Washington to bear this protest—Members of Congress astounded at the culture, ability and statesmanship of Derbigny, Sauvé and Destrahan—New and more liberal territorial government granted to the "Territory of Orleans."

CHAPTER XXIV

THE GENESIS OF EARLY MID-WEST COMMONWEALTHS 225

The general government acquires the claims of the States to western lands—The first three western territories—Proposed division of the Northwest Territory—Picturesque nomenclature of the proposed ten divisions—Virginia's original wishes in regard to division acceded to—The Ordinance of 1787—Organized government under this ordinance—Institutional features reappearing in subsequently organized territorial governments—Mississippi Territory first to register opposition against unjust laws—The States formed from the Northwest Territory—The dividing up of the Louisiana Purchase—The territory of Orleans—The District of Louisiana (Missouri)—The territory of Louisiana—The Territory of Missouri—Arkansas Territory.

CHAPTER XXV

AN EARLY AMERICAN MELTING POT . . . 237

William Charles Coles Claiborne, a significant figure in the Valley's history—His remarkable career—His appointment as first governor of Orleans Territory—Difficulties of his position—How he won French-speaking Louisiana to appreciation of American citizenship—Patriotism the keynote to his character—Polyglot elements with which he had to deal.

CHAPTER XXVI

PAGE

THE SPREADING WAVE SPEEDS ON . . . 245

Distribution of western pioneer population according to the first Census of the United States (1790)—Marietta and Cincinnati, O.—Repression of the western settlements from expanding—Indian hostility in the North-west—English retention of Northwestern posts and forts promising a second war—The trying period of 1790–1795—Harmar's and St. Clair's defeats by the Indians—General Wayne wins complete victory—Treaty of Greenville—Founding of Cleveland—Chicago—War with Tecumseh—Creek war—Resumé of treaties by which the Indian title to the lands in the lower Valley became extinguished.

CHAPTER XXVII

PLANTER-PIONEERS IN THE LOWER VALLEY . . 254

Various elements in the migratory movement westward—Hunter-frontiersmen and Squatter types—Typical life history of an Arkansas pioneer from his original home in North Carolina—Slave-holders of southern seaboard States move westward with their chattels—Occupy the rich alluvial bottom lands and become wealthy "Southern Planters"—Non-slaveholders settle the hills and pine barrens and evolve distinctive types—Eddies of population-movements west of the Mississippi.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE WAYS OF THE WILDERNESS WINNERS . . 261

The Scotch-Irish element in western pioneer life—Characteristics of the Scotch-Irish—Coördinate pioneer elements—The Block-house Era—Typical western pioneer traits as recorded by actual observers—The conclusion to be drawn—The pioneer's outfit—Why he sought the woods instead of the open country—His self-sufficiency—His larder—His whiskey—House-raisings—Amusements—Dances—Fiddler contests—Revivals—Camp-meetings.

CHAPTER XXIX

WAR'S TEST OF THE WEST 278

The War of 1812—American reverses on land—Exceptions—Designs of the British upon the Mississippi Valley—Mistaken

PAGE

belief in the Louisianian's disloyalty—Address to the people by the patriotic Committee of Safety—General Andrew Jackson in charge of the Southern defenses—British fleet and army of investment assembles at Jamaica—Elaborate preparations for the invasion—The choice of Sir Edward Pakenham to lead the expedition—New Orleans soon seen to be the objective—Forces mustered for the defense of the city—British land by way of Lake Borgne—Surprise outpost at Bayou Bienvenue—Major Villeré's experience—Jackson receives first information of the presence of the British—Prompt preparations for repelling invasion—The march to the battlefield below New Orleans—Engagements of December 23 and 28, and Jan. 1—Decisive battle of January 8—Defeat of the British and death of Pakenham—Victory celebration—The part in the battle played by the outlaw-smugglers of Barataria—Jackson's tribute to these so-called pirates.

CHAPTER XXX

STEAM'S SOLVING OF THE UP-STREAM PROBLEM . 298

Importance of western waterways in the industrial and commercial development of the Valley—Nature's intent in regard to the movement of western commerce—The law determining the growth of large cities—The law applied to Louisville, Cincinnati, Pittsburg, St. Louis and New Orleans—Rapid growth of New Orleans—Third among American cities in 1840—Chicago, a comparatively late-comer—The Erie Canal swerves the route of commerce from southward to eastward—Destructive effects of railroads upon river commerce—Flatboats or "broadhorns" as down stream commerce carriers—One-way commerce until the steamboat appeared—Nicholas J. Roosevelt and the first steamboat upon the western waters—The *New Orleans*, its departure from Pittsburg—Arrival at Cincinnati, Louisville, Natchez, New Orleans—Monopoly of rights to steam navigation on the western rivers under the Fulton and Livingston patents—Opposition to the monopoly—Captain Henry M. Shreve—Pioneer steamboats—Boat building activities along the Ohio—Luxury of Mississippi River steamboat travel—The flatboat not superseded by the steamboat as bulk commerce carriers down stream—Immense tonnage borne by these flatboats.

CHAPTER XXXI

PAGE

SLAVERY'S VAIN TREK NORTHWESTWARD . . 313

Two streams and elements of population in the peopling of the upper Mississippi Valley—Lines of cleavage in Indiana and Illinois—Hugh McCullough's advice—Two facts and several inferences drawn therefrom—Slavery a paramount issue in Indiana and Illinois during territorial times—How the anti-slavery provision in the Ordinance of 1787 was avoided—Edward Coles and his opposition to slavery in Illinois—Birth of Abolitionism—Illinois closed to slave holders, Missouri becomes their Mecca—Timothy Flint's picturesque description of a slave owner's immigration train moving into Missouri.

CHAPTER XXXII

FIRST SOWINGS OF THE DRAGON'S TEETH . . 322

The question of slavery in the Louisiana Purchase—Missouri Compromise—Geographical restrictions placed upon profitable slave-holding—The agricultural combination of cotton, "niggers" and mules—The small-farmer element in Missouri—The tide of slave-owner migration deflected to Arkansas—Extinguishment of Osage and Quapaw Indian titles to lands in Missouri and Arkansas—The thrust of Missourians into the Mexican possession of Texas—Some contrasts between "Easterner" and "Southerner" as Missouri pioneers—The Platte purchase and its significance—"Squatter-sovereignty" in Kansas and Nebraska anticipative of the subsequently formulated principle of "self-determination"—A far cry from the Ordinance of 1787 to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE LURE OF LOW-PRICED LANDS 329

Successive land policies of the United State Government—Original intent of Congress in the disposition of western lands—Speculative land companies—John Cleves Symmes and his Ohio holdings—Land speculation and the first financial panic—Change of sentiment in regard to public lands—Not property of the general government to be disposed of at will but of the people to be occupied and used—Thomas

PAGE

H. Benton and his great advocacy of settler's rights—Squatters beyond surveyed areas—Popular condemnation of claim-jumping—Protective Land Clubs in Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa—How Iowa Land Claims Associations were organized and administered—Their heritage from the Mayflower Compact and the New England Town Meeting—Their embodiment of fundamental Democratic principles of government by common consent and public opinion—Their organization suggestive of the Southern County.

CHAPTER XXXIV

TWO GIANTS IN THE MAKING. 339

The Sac-and-Fox War in Illinois and Wisconsin—Captain Abraham Lincoln and Lieutenant Jefferson Davis brought together—Both of Kentucky, Scotch-Irish pioneer stock—Their places of birth contiguous—Their migration to different environments—Comparison of their personalities, characteristics and political careers.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE FURTHER FRONTIER 345

Boundary problems acquired by the Louisiana Purchase—The dispute over the South-west boundary—Spain's out-post of Nacogdoches, Texas—Invasion and attack upon Natchitoches threatened—General Wilkinson, Commander-in-chief takes personal command along the Sabine—Neutral zone agreed upon by the Spanish and American commanders—The "Free State of Sabine"—Bloodless victory—The Burr Conspiracy—Spread of population westward in Missouri and Arkansas—Collisions with the Indians—Further quieting of Indian titles.

CHAPTER XXXVI

WHERE THE VICTORY SEED OF APPOMATTOX WAS SOWN 352

The winning of Texan independence and its effect upon southwestern frontier history—The threat of invasion from Mexico—The United States stations an "army of observation at Natchitoches—Lieutenant Ulysses S. Grant joins his regiment here and begins his military career—An obscure period in the life of the great commander—Episodes of his fourteen months stay at Natchitoches—Camp Salubrity

PAGE

and its beneficial effects upon Grant's health—Social life at Natchitoches—Personal reminiscence of the older inhabitants in reference to Grant—His exemplary record—Horse-racing and "brag" playing characteristic amusements of that time and vicinity—Grant's departure for the War with Mexico.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THOSE THAT FOLLOWED AFTER 363

Secondary tides of population that poured into the Valley following the original pioneers—Irish immigration to America—Germans most numerous of foreigners that came to the West—Nicholas Longworth and his encouragement of German immigration—Phenomenon of German migration almost the equal of the original "great westward movement" of the American people—Plan of a German State in the West—The dream of a New Germany in the heart of America—The Western Germans in the War between the States—Descendants of the Pioneering Germans of the Valley not to be confused with later comers as patriotic or non-patriotic elements in American citizenship—Missouri and the Santa Fé trade—The history of the Earlier West ends when that of the later or Prairie West begins.

BIBLIOGRAPHY 375

INDEX 381

ILLUSTRATIONS

FACING PAGE

PLACE D'ARMES—NOW, JACKSON SQUARE—NEW ORLEANS . . . . . *Frontispiece*

From an old and rare print.

One of the most historic spots in the Mississippi Valley. Here, colonial governors during the French and Spanish dominations of the Valley, were received, presented their credentials and issued their proclamations. Here, the formal ceremony marking the transfer of sovereignty over the Valley—from France to Spain, from Spain back to France and from France to the United States—was staged at each successive change of authority.

ROBERT CAVALIER DE LA SALLE, PRINCE OF AMERICAN EXPLORERS 32

Seigneur of New France; Chevalier of old France; central figure in the early explorational history of the Valley who named the region drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries, LOUISIANA.

CABILDO, OR CAPITOL DURING THE SPANISH DOMINATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY . . . 96

From a recent photograph.

Now, the domicile of the Louisiana Historical Society and its priceless collections. From one of the small balconies shown, President McKinley delivered the commemorative address featuring the centennial celebration of the acquirement of Louisiana by the United States.

CEREMONIAL OF THE TRANSFER OF LOUISIANA TO THE UNITED STATES 206

From a painting owned by the Louisiana Historical Society and reproduced by special permission.

FACING PAGE

Showing Place d'Armes as it appeared before its embellishment and conversion into "Jackson Square," and the Cabildo and St. Louis Cathedral before their subsequent renovation and improvement.

CHALMETTE BATTLE MONUMENT 278

From photo by Stanley Clisby Arthur.

Commemorating Jackson's Victory over the British in the War of 1812, in the so-called "Battle of New Orleans."

TYPICAL STEAMBOAT RACE ON THE MISSISSIPPI . 298

From an old and rare lithograph, courtesy of Robert Glenk, Curator of the Louisiana State Museum.

The Olympian sport of racing steamboats was of frequent occurrence in the heyday of steam navigation on the western rivers. The trophy of victory consisted usually of gilded deer horns displayed above the pilot house.

TWO SCIONS OF WESTERN PIONEER STOCK—LINCOLN AND DAVIS 340

From photos.

Lincoln and Davis; born in Kentucky within a few miles of each other of migrating pioneer wilderness winners; subjected to radically different formative influences; destined to become antagonists in one of the greatest conflicts of history, both suffering martyrdom, one in victory and the other in defeat.

MAPS

TERRITORIAL CLAIMS, 1755 88

TERRITORIAL CHANGES, 1763 112

TERRITORIAL CHANGES, 1783 160

TERRITORIAL CHANGES, 1800 220

TERRITORIAL CHANGES, 1803 336

TERRITORIAL CHANGES, 1821 346

The Valley as Wilderness

THE VALLEY AS WILDERNESS

CHAPTER ONE

THE WESTWARD PUSH OF THE AMERICAN PIONEER

THE Mississippi Valley emerges from the mists of a remote past and becomes for the first time a more or less definite conception to the historian, when as wilderness of empire-like extent it is penetrated by certain adventurous spirits the records of whose wanderings and explorations can never be disassociated from the period of American beginnings. In the foreground of every picture of this period, stand boldly forth De Soto with his panoplied knights and arquebused men-at-arms, Marquette in priestly gown with crucifix high-held before and La Salle, Prince of American Explorers, dream-driven to the conquest of this wilderness for France.

The Valley is next visioned as a great continental heart,—Queen-region of the Western World,—to whom came wooing mighty nations, their struggles for possession epochal though vain. For it was the American pioneer of the earlier West

who in the end was to win what Europe failed to hold.

The Trans-Alleghany pioneer at first enacted a John Alden-like rôle. He came, not to speak for the distinctive civilization that was potentially within himself, but as the rugged representative of one still held by leading strings to another and older one across the sea. His plea in its intent was for the thought, the manners, the customs, the ideals of the East from which he came. But the West with its untrammeled freedom and largeness greeted him promptly with the Priscilla-query of old. He soon spoke for himself, and when he did there was born of his indomitable spirit a newer social phase, a newer institutional development, distinctively and characteristically of the new world. And when child of his being was mothered by this West, there was cradled an infant Democracy, more lusty, more restless, more alert, more insistent than had ever before been sung to by the silver-tongued political idealists of any of the older sections.

The explorer in his thirst to be first, the early, curiosity-driven traveler of the wilderness ways, the profit-seeking fur-trader, accompanied frequently by missionary priest, the hunter ever ready to wrest by force his rights to a domicile and to the game beyond the frontier of occupancy, were all scouts of an advancing host whose rapid sweep westward over the continent is a wonder-tale of history.

The skirmishers who followed these scouts were the squatters, the one-crop makers, the crowd avoiders, the hewer of logs for cabin, stockade or post first to go up beyond the outermost settlement limits, many of them moving on from position to position as the wilderness retreated. The main army of occupation comprised the farmer and the stock-raiser, the laborer and the artizan, the business and the professional man, the speculator and the investor, the industry developer and the city maker.

Unconscious of its own organization, of the unity of purpose with which it moved forward, of the commands unheard of ears to which it responded, this army was surely generaled by a Genius which seemed to be directing American affairs. Its first recruits were drawn from the older States of the Atlantic seaboard; its ranks were swelled by immigrants from Europe coming over from time to time in numbers exceedingly great.

Behind the constantly advancing, irregular battle line of this army, focal points developed, almost of the nature of concentration camps, seething with feverish, frequently lawless activities,—frothy forerunners of the advancing tide of population yet to come. These, in the course of time, were to sober down to a recognition of the benefits of established order under organized government and to a respect for law under governments of their own establishment.

As the line of the frontier progressed onward, schools, churches, newspapers and other instruments contributive to community uplift and the public good began to operate, paying little deference, however, to older traditions. Industries also began to differentiate, each in its development to win for its workers subsistence, competency, wealth. The complex took the place of the simple in the Westerner's relation to his neighbor, to his community, to his church and to his State.

The rapidity with which the so-called Middle West was peopled after the movement began is evident from the speed with which the several geographical areas attained successively a population sufficient to entitle them to the dignity of Statehood. Kentucky was, up to and during the American Revolution, a "dark and bloody ground" roved over by marauding bands from Indian tribes in regions north and south of it,—a domain untenanted by whites except for the handful of hunter-frontiersmen among whom Daniel Boone gained distinction.

The war had hardly closed before Kentucky was ready for Statehood; eight years after, it was admitted to the Union and nine years thereafter it had displaced five of the original thirteen States in rank according to population.

At the time Kentucky was admitted, Ohio had a few sparse settlements along its southeast edge. In twelve years it had people enough to form a State. In seventeen years it reached the fifth

place among the States in population. The growth of Tennessee, Indiana and Illinois was no less phenomenal.

Small wonder was it that English travelers seeking locations in the West for colonies of their countrymen would frequently report to the effect that all America appeared to be moving westward. Dr. Ferrero, the Italian historian, considers it nothing less than a miracle by which American civilization spread in little less than fifty years from the Atlantic to the Pacific. "It were as if the whole American Nation," says he, "unconsciously or almost unconsciously was being driven forward by a superior, not to say a mystic force, to reach in pain and travail the goal of its destiny" —the conquest and the occupancy of the continent.

It is well to recognize with this eminent Italian the dynamic element in human progress. Unquestionably there have always played upon humanity social forces as physical forces play upon matter and substance. The basis of the latter is, of course, gravitational; that of the former, psychological. Both conform definitively to "that which produces change in the object acted upon." Both have points of similarity in their operations and results. The forces, however, that manifest themselves in wars and migrations; in the progress and decay of nations; in aggregating and disrupting political groups; in building and breaking down social structures; in developing or disintegrating institutions; in governing the thought, inspiring

the conduct and prompting the action of individual community, State or nation, are necessarily much more complex than those which act upon the atoms, molecules and masses of inert substance.

And as complex physical forces may be analyzed, so we may resolve into primary elements any social force that impels an individual to uproot himself and make his home elsewhere; a group to break the ties binding it to an older society and place itself amidst pioneer conditions to form a new; a race to change its habitat and subject itself to different climatic and geographical influences affecting its ways and modes of life; a nation to compel or promote the migration of large bodies of its citizens or to plant colonies so that its jurisdiction may jump to distant parts. When we do so resolve this impelling social force we find upon final analysis that it is made up of two basic elements,—*Lures* and *Urges*,—either or both of which operate to bring about movement or action.

The love of adventure; the fascination of discovery, the craving for novelty; the possibility of acquiring valuable land at little or no cost; the promise of ease of subsistence, owing to an abundance of game with the accompanying pleasures of the chase; above all, the expectation of bettering one's self in any one of a number of ways, are all Lures that appeal with greater or less persuasiveness.

The threat of famine; the growing scarcity of unoccupied productive lands and soil-exhaustion of

lands long cultivated; the lack of occupational opportunities due, at times, to changing economic conditions; the irksomeness of restraint, either of law or of social custom; the desire to escape poverty or to bear it under less humiliating circumstances; intolerableness of local, social, political and religious restrictions, are all Urges inciting—sometimes compelling—abandonment of an old environment and movement to a new.

Let us also note that the instinct in man to move westward seems to be a basic one. Whenever he determines upon a change, unless insurmountable natural and climatic barriers, or antagonistic races interpose to deflect his movements, he seems impelled to take the course of the sun in its apparent progress towards the western horizon. Perhaps the student of racial or social psychology or advanced anthropology will in time solve for us the mystery of this cosmic urge which has peopled Europe by successive migrations of races from Asia, which has peopled the two Americas from Europe, which has peopled the Middle West from the Atlantic States and Europe, which has peopled the far West from the States East.[1]

If we are to interpret intelligently the life and

[1] Since the above was written, accounts of experiments in Anticinesis of Dr. Raphael Dubois of the University of Lyons, France, have appeared in public prints. By means of ingenious apparatus Dr. Dubois demonstrates that all forms of life instinctively move in a direction contrary to that of a moving rotating object upon which they are placed. His conclusions are applied to characteristic migrations and distributions of plant and animal life, including man, on the surface of the revolving earth.

work of the conquerors of the earlier West, or of any other great pioneer movement recorded in history, it is well to keep in mind this instinct and to note the social forces back of the movement. Knowing the Lures which the wilderness West held forth, the Urges which from time to time impelled or compelled movement westward and the physical or racial barriers which temporarily impeded or diverted the flow of moving population, we shall have a better understanding of the remarkable phenomenon which the rapid peopling of the West presents. It will then cease to be a mystery to us for it is made to come within our comprehension as the result of natural forces controlled by natural laws acting naturally upon psychically controlled individuals and social groups impelling to betterment and progress.

Nor must we lose sight of the fact that while the population of the West increased as rapidly as it did, there was a material development going on correspondingly as rapid. Forests gave away to clearings; clearings to hamlets; hamlets to towns; towns to industrial and commercial centers, some of which have become great world cities of to-day. The "chug" of the cabin builder's ax was lost in the screech of the modern saw-mill. The swish of sweep and throb of rowlock—sounds signaling commerce and travel on western waterways—were silenced by the coughing of low pressure engines, the water-slappings of revolving paddle wheels, the panther-calls of steam-expelling whistles, as float-

ing palaces made their way up or down streams which once knew only the canoe, the pirogue, the keel-boat and the broadhorn.

Blazed trails have turned into wagon roads; "Indian traces" and buffalo paths into highways; wagon roads and highways into toll-exacting turnpikes, and these last into feeders of secondary importance to the twin strips of steel, which progress and invention have contributed to modern transportation needs. The wayside cabin once offering meager but welcome accommodations to the traveler in the West of old found its patronage drawn to inns, as soon as these picturesque hostelries, bustling with life, having office, lobby, lounging room and bar in one, came upon the scene. Inns, in turn, gave way to *ho*-tels whose plush and tinsel furnishings, to the rawer tastes of that earlier day, bore the hallmark of perfect elegance. And now hotels are relegated to the background by sky-scraper palaces, each accommodating a thousand guests, with appurtenances and comforts for the ordinary traveler which Royalty itself once deemed inaccessible luxuries.

With what clear vision did Jonathan Carver, who as early as 1766 conceived the idea of crossing the continent to the Pacific, prophesy of this midwest region whose possibilities he was so quick to grasp.

"To what power or authority," said he, "this new world will become dependent after it has risen from its present uncultivated state, time alone can discover. But as the

seat of empire from time immemorial has been gradually progressing towards the West, there is no doubt but that at some future period mighty kingdoms will emerge from these wildernesses and stately palaces and solemn temples with gilded spires reaching to the skies supplant the Indian huts whose only decorations are the barbarous trophies of their vanquished enemies."

Prophet though he was, little did he foresee that within less than one hundred years of the period of his own existence, the empire of his dreams would be realized; that within so short a time there would emerge from these wildernesses a kingdom without king, a mighty mid-continent realm ruled by public opinion and common purpose, the expression of which has been so potent in shaping the destinies of the American Republic of which it became a part.

CHAPTER TWO

TRAVEL WAYS OF EARLY DAYS

PHYSIOGRAPHIC conditions bear very importantly upon man in his migrations, his settlement-makings, his occupation-followings, his industry-buildings, his town and city locatings, his ways of life and even his evolution as to distinctiveness of type and his development as to character.

Before taking up that part of the Valley's history which begins with its two foreign dominations and ends with the influx of English-speaking settlers and pioneers whose inflowing displaced these dominations, it were well to note something of the Valley itself, its surface features that bore upon travel and transportation and the primitive aids in moving from place to place employed during the period of its pioneer beginnings. For there could have been no conquest of the Valley to civilization's use without movement and no rapidity of conquest without natural and devised facilities of travel.

Aside from the use of waterways, the Indian, in getting from one part of the country to another, depended upon his own powers of locomotion. He

had his trails or "traces" which became more or less plainly defined paths according to the frequency with which they were used, it being his practice to travel over them in single or "Indian file." These trails usually followed the banks of streams, making detours to avoid low bottoms and swamps. Smaller branches and creeks were crossed by ford when shallow and by a "Raccoon Bridge"—a tree trunk felled to fall from bank to bank,—when too deep to be waded.

Many of these Indian trails extended for great distance across the country. For instance, one led from the mouth of the Missouri River to the Hot Springs of Arkansas, passing through points where are now located the cities of St. Louis, Cape Girardeau, Little Rock and Benton. At Hot Springs the trail divided, one fork going south through the country of the Caddodoquis in Northwest Louisiana and on to that of the Natchitoches. The other branched to the southeast down the Ouachita River to where Monroe, La., now stands, then southwest to where it verged to the other fork where the town of Natchitoches is now. In the Ohio valley these trails and traces were particularly numerous.

Every Indian village had its trails leading to various hunting grounds and to other villages. It was the common practice for Indians from different tribes to meet upon stated occasions at some central point for barter and trade. Trails would therefore converge at this point. Where two

nations were hostile and their feuds were carried on from generation to generation, trails would in time be deeply marked by war parties going back and forth. There were, therefore, before the white man came, traces for long journeyings and trails for trade, hunting and war.

But antedating the Indian trails and traces were the paths beaten out by animals going from grazing ground to grazing ground or converging to salt licks and springs. Some of these showed the wear of thousands of years of travel, being beaten down as deep as five or six feet with a width sufficient to allow two wagons to pass abreast.

The prairie region of Illinois and other grazing areas of the West were particularly well marked by these paths. They proved very serviceable indeed when the settlers came. For those who settled the open stretches, unlike their forerunners who settled and cleared the wooded areas, were provided with vehicles or animals of burden. An unbroken prairie with its tangle of high growing grasses would have been difficult to cross but for the animal paths which facilitated progress.

These paths were made principally by buffaloes, which in pioneer days were as numerous east of the Mississippi as they were afterwards known to be west. A buffalo path could be counted upon as being the shortest practicable passageway between two points and both Indians and whites availed themselves of the sagacity of these animals,—the Indian using the buffalo paths for his traces and

the white pioneer for his pack-train trail and highway whenever he could do so. Indeed it is said the buffalo paths penetrating the valleys of the Alleghanies gave backwoodsmen and hunters their clues to practicable gaps and passes through the mountain barrier, by which they reached the regions beyond. Boone's road through Cumberland Gap was originally a buffalo path upon which was superimposed an Indian trail, the two coinciding for some distance into Kentucky where the buffalo path turned south to where Boonesborough is now, while the trail part continued on to the "Falls of the Ohio" where the city of Louisville now stands. The pioneer made this last his main highway into and through Kentucky, calling it "The Wilderness Road." It had an important bearing upon Kentucky's development for it permitted the settlement of that region at a time when hostile Indians held the upper reaches of the Ohio, preventing travel to Kentucky by water.

So when mention is made of the western wilderness of pioneer days, it is not to be mentally pictured as all but impenetrable; or one through which its winners had to hack and hew their way; or one whose edges were ground farther and farther back under a figurative friction of contact with advancing areas of dense occupancy. As a matter of fact, the Mississippi Valley was gridironed with trails and paths long before the coming of the first explorer. By these, the pioneer could determine the direction of his movements. They

enabled the Indian trader and fur buyer to penetrate to astonishing distances long before the coming of the settlers. The trails and paths and the currents of streams were lines of least resistance, each serving as an axis along which the crystals of civilization, in clusters and groups of cabins and hamlets, formed themselves.

The Indians of the so-called Middle West, with the exception of the Chickasaws who seem to have had an unnatural dread of travel by water, were constant users of its waterways. In the upper part of the Valley they evolved in their canoes a type of water vehicle of exceeding lightness. These were built of bark with cedar splints and spruce ribs. The reason for their lightness lay in the frequency with which they had to be lifted from the water, either for the purpose of concealment when not in use, or for changing streams in going long distances.

The carrying place from stream to stream was called a *portage* by the French, who, with the exception of De Soto, the Spaniard, were the first whites to enter the Valley. It was located usually where two streams flowing in opposite directions approached nearest, which, as a rule, was near their headwaters. Short *portages* were popular and determined main routes of travel. The Indians knew of their location long before the coming of the whites, frequently imparting information of them to the latter. As these *portages* figure very conspicuously in the chronicles of the early comers

to the Valley it is well to note those of historic significance.

The Great Lakes and their outlet, the St. Lawrence River, lie at the bottom of a depression in the earth's surface. Geologists designate this the Laurentian Basin. Between this and the drainage basin of the Mississippi lies the rim separating the two. Unlike the mountain ranges or great "divides" which Nature usually employs for the purpose, this rim is obscurely defined. At no place is it very far away from the lake which it almost parallels. Its location is indicated by the beginnings of rivers flowing in opposite directions. Along this rim where these streams have their nearest approaches are strung the *portages* by means of which the French, and the Indians before them, entered the Mississippi Valley from Canada. Ascending any one of a number of rivers flowing into the Great Lakes one passed by *portage* of only a few miles to a river whose waters eventually reached the Mississippi.

The St. Croix River near the head of Lake Superior takes one to the Mississippi itself. There was a *portage* of only twenty-seven hundred paces between the Fox river which empties into Lake Michigan and the Wisconsin River which flows to the Mississippi. It was by this route that Marquette entered the Valley. It would have been the favored route of the French, as being the most direct one from Canada to the Mississippi by way of the straits of Mackinaw, had it not been closed

to them after the year 1699 by the hostility of the Fox Indians.

At the lower end of Lake Michigan one could go by canoe up the Chicago River to within a mile of the Des Plaines and down that stream to the Illinois and Mississippi. This route was also closed to the French (1718) by the hostility of the neighborhood Indians who were incited by the Iroquois of New York, those implacable enemies of the French from the very beginning.

South of the Chicago River are the two Calumet rivers, one of which rises within portage distance of the Des Plaines and the other within similar distance of the Kankakee, another branch of the Illinois. In southwest Michigan and northern Indiana is the St. Joseph River which had a *portage* of between three to five miles to the Kankakee, and another of nine miles to the Wabash connecting with the Ohio. The Wabash was also reached from the Maumee River in northwestern Ohio from which portage could be made to the Kankakee to get to the Illinois country, or the Wabash employed to get to the Ohio and from the latter's mouth up or down the Mississippi. This was the most important line of communication between Montreal, Quebec and Detroit at one end, and either New Orleans or the Illinois settlements at the other.

The most direct routes from Canada to the Valley would have been south from Lake Erie across what is now the State of Ohio to the Ohio River. The Indians knew and used these to

advantage. But here again the influence of the Iroquois prevailed to the stoppage of travel. There was only a one-mile *portage* between the Sandusky entering Lake Erie, and the Scioto entering the Ohio, one of eight miles from the west branch of the Cuyahoga, to the east fork of the Muskingum, and a shorter one from the east branch of the Cuyahoga to Bear Creek, which enters the Ohio a little below the site of the present city of Pittsburg. Had the Iroquois, whom in the old days the founder of Quebec, Samuel Champlain, unforgivably offended, not served as a veritable bulwark against the French, there would have been as many settlements in the upper Ohio valley as there came to be in Southern Illinois. French occupation would also have extended well down the Hudson and for some distance south of the "Finger Lakes" of Central New York, possibly into Pennsylvania when the time came for the English to dislodge them—a time which might never have come if the English had been restricted by this larger French occupancy to a narrow strip along the Atlantic Coast.

If the English were as disposed to make long journeys by way of inland rivers as were the French, they might have employed practicable *portages* in Pennsylvania from the Susquehanna and Juniata rivers to the Alleghany fork of the Ohio; or from the Potomac to the Monongahela fork of the Ohio; or from any of several North and South Carolina rivers to those of eastern Tennessee

which connect with the Ohio. But neither the explorational nor the commercial spirit moved them until a later day when they rode, walked or drove their pack animals through gaps and over trails to where they desired to go.

The area covered by the present State of Louisiana in the lower Mississippi Valley so abounded in rivers and bayous as to afford innumerable *portages*. It is said that there is to-day no point in an area covering three fourths of the State further away from a navigable stream than twenty miles. As to streams too shallow for commercial traffic but deep enough for a craft of the lightness of a canoe this distance is greatly reduced.

When the Spaniards came into possession of the western half of the valley they faced the possibility of having their communication between the upper and lower sections by way of the Mississippi, cut, in the event of hostilities with those in possession of the eastern half. They, therefore, planned a complete system of waterway communication by which they could pass from New Orleans to the vicinity of St. Louis and back without using the Mississippi. The route included the Atchafalaya, Red, Black and Ouachita rivers in Louisiana; Bayou Bartholomew, Arkansas, White and St. Francis rivers in Arkansas—the last named stream reaching well up into Missouri. In high water seasons of the year and in the days before the levee systems were developed, this route could be used without a single *portage*.

The Indian canoe had reached a development approaching standardization before the white man came. There was the two-place canoe, twelve to fourteen feet in length, carrying two persons and three or four hundred pounds of freight. There was the four-place canoe, twenty feet in length, with a carrying capacity of four persons and one or two thousand pounds. Finally there was the master canoe, thirty-six feet long, four feet wide and two and one-half feet deep with capacity enough to carry fourteen persons and a weight of freight corresponding to its size.

In the lower part of the Valley where suitable barks such as birch were not to be had, the Indians used "dugouts" or hollowed out tree trunks suitably shaped. The French gave these the name of *pirogues*. They were made preferably of cypress because of its lightness, easy cutting qualities and durability against decay under water. Some of these *pirogues* were forty to fifty feet in length with a carrying capacity of thirty persons and forty tons of freight. When the French came to occupy the lower Valley with its elaborate and complicated network of bayous, lakes, and rivers, they adopted the *pirogue* as their chief means of local travel, using it in lieu of saddle horses and vehicles before swamps were drained, roadways perfected and bridges built. For it should be remembered before the day of the levee there was much of marsh and swamp along the lower stretches of the Mississippi, a condition that prevailed even within the corpo-

rate limits of the city of New Orleans up to the very close of the nineteenth century. The writer in his boyhood spent many a Saturday holiday paddling his *pirogue* about the swamps "back of town" over areas now drained and covered by bungalows and surburban villas. Watery roads were cut through these swamps in every direction and it needed a depth of only one foot of water to float the small, light, swift, easily propelled *pirogue*. So cheap and so simply made were these craft, that few were the persons who could not afford to own one or more.

When the whites began to develop the navigation of the western rivers they immediately began to improve upon the stability and carrying capacity of canoe and *pirogue*. The French devised *Bateaux-plats* and *Radeaux*. The first was a flat bottomed boat with pointed bow and stern; the second approached more closely the type of flatboat with blunt ends, that afterwards became so numerous on the western waterways.

In the course of time the keelboat was evolved from the bateau-plat type. It was brought into existence by the necessity of transporting freight upstream as well as down. A flat-bottomed boat persisted in hugging and scraping the shore so that it could not, except with great difficulty, be hauled up stream by means of a rope running from boat to river bank. A keel was found to check this lateral swing to shore. A keelboat by means of rudder or guiding sweep could be steered parallel

with and distant from the shore, notwithstanding the slant of the tow rope with its tendency to turn the bow inshore. The keel acted on the principle of the center-board of certain sailing craft, which has to be lowered when "tacking."

Keelboats were the early packets of the West. They traveled both up and down stream. Flat boats, sometimes called "broadhorns" from the horn-like projection of their two steering sweeps, were used principally as freight carriers down stream, being broken up for lumber upon arrival at destination. Many a building in the lower valley was constructed of flatboat lumber.

The navigation of the Mississippi which began as early as 1700 presented many difficulties below the mouth of the Missouri. Strong currents, puzzling eddies, numerous bends and snags known as either "planters" or "sawyers" according as they were fixed or oscillated up and down, were some of the physical difficulties encountered. Always haunting its banks, there were hostile Indians and renegade whites skilful in the use of every device to entice the unwary to shore.

For mutual protection and assistance, voyages were usually made in convoys of from two to twenty boats. It was customary for these to leave the Illinois country for the trip down stream in the early part of February so as to benefit by the extra swiftness of the current during the spring floods, an advantage of at least two miles an hour over the

current at low water. In going from New Orleans up stream the departure was made as soon after the first day of August as possible. This gave time to reach the Illinois country, unload and reload and catch the high water for the return voyage. It took from three to four months to make the trip up stream and only from twelve to twenty-five days down.

An additional hardship in going up stream was the many bends that had to be rounded, some of which required a detour of fifty miles to progress five. To avoid the centrifugal sweep of the strong current, the inside of the curve of each bend had to be taken. As these bends were many and sinuous they compelled many crossings and recrossings from shore to shore to take the inside of course. No crossing could be made without a dropping back of at least a half mile under the force of the mid-stream current. One voyage from New Orleans to St. Louis recorded three hundred and ninety of these bends on the way.

In going down stream the mid-river current could be followed all the way and the voyage made with only guiding effort. It was usual, however, to tie up at night, as snag and sand-bar dangers were not discernible in the dark. The difference in time and labor between working up and drifting down stream was such as to make a considerable difference in the charges for freight and passage, according to the direction traveled. Even early steamboats upon the western rivers continued this

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difference when fixing their schedules of fares and freight tariffs.

It is well to remember that when the time came for the English-speaking pioneers and settlers to make their way into the Valley, they were favored by a number of circumstances. In the first place, the powerful Iroquois tribes of central New York were not as ill-disposed towards the English as they were towards the French. New Englanders, therefore, had a comparatively easy route to the West by way of the Mohawk valley to either Lake Erie or to the Alleghany river. In the next place, the expedition of General Braddock and that of General Forbes against Fort Du Quesne—afterwards Pittsburg—had made known at least two practicable routes to the Ohio from the eastern seaboard, over which those who migrated westward from New Jersey, south-eastern Pennsylvania and northern Maryland could journey with comparative ease. The one from Fort Cumberland to Wheeling was of such grade and directness that it became in time a "main traveled," government-supported road for both freight and travel.

Nor must it be forgotten that the date, October 10, 1774, is a very significant one in any narrative of the peopling of the Middle West, for it was upon that day that General Lewis with a force of Virginians crushingly defeated Chief Cornstalk and his powerful following of hostile Indians at the battle of Point Pleasant at the junction of the Kanawha and Ohio rivers. These Indians had been holding

the upper reaches of the Ohio against use by the whites. This victory cleared the way for the oncoming army of settlers who were thenceforth free to build their flatboats at the head of the Ohio in which to make the long drift-voyages down that stream, voyages that expedited to a marked extent the rapid peopling of the one-time wilderness.

PART I
A French Possession

CHAPTER THREE

DREAMS OF EMPIRE

THE formal history of the Mississippi Valley begins with the invasion of that region by Hernando De Soto, the Spaniard. This leader of indomitable will and unswerving purpose was an ex-*conquistadore* whose spurs had already been won on the west coast of South America when Spain first began her inroads into that continent. He had retired to his Iberian home with the enjoyment of great booty as well as great beauty, for he had wedded the Castilian dame of his choice and had surrounded himself with every luxury. There was no reason why he should be lured from his life of ease, to subject himself for a second time to the dangers and hardships of adventuring in the New World, except inordinate ambition.

For he had listened to and believed in the Munchausen tales of one Cabeza de Vaca who, wrecked on the gulf coast of Florida, had made his way overland to Mexico, bringing back with him a wondrous narrative of races and rich countries encountered on the way. Here to De Soto seemed Opportunity. He visioned a second Aztec or Inca

empire where deeds might be performed by him that would outshine those of Cortez in the latter's mastering of Mexico; where wealth won by him would dim to lesser dazzlement Pizarro's plunderings of Peru.

De Soto showed the faith that was in him by fitting up an expedition at his own expense. No conquering nor exploring enterprise more completely equipped, more dominated by collective courage as well as individual bravery; nor more inspired by hope, by the love of adventure, by a disposition to challenge Fate to a gamble for big stakes, ever left the shore of the Old World to make its invading mark upon the New.

It consisted of six hundred picked men, knights, soldiers, and artisans. Camp followers, workers, and servants were to come from native races to be subdued. Truly they made a gala show at the final muster before departure. The landing was made at Tampa Bay, Florida (1539). The first line of march taken up led northward from Indian village to Indian village until the red hills of what is now North Georgia were reached.

No gold, no Montezumas, no natives living in luxury and affluence to yield their tributes and ransoms to invading conquerors were encountered on the way. Only the Indian in his savage state, elusive, loath to welcome the arrival but prompt to speed the departure of these unwelcome guests. Brow-beaten into furnishing food supplies from their scanty stocks these natives revenged them-

Robert Cavalier De La Salle, Prince of American Explorers

Seigneur of New France; Chevalier of Old France; central figure in the early exploration history of the Valley, who named the region drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries, LOUISIANA.

selves by sending the Spaniards on to further hardships by telling them that only a little way beyond, and that which was being sought would surely there be found.

From North Georgia the expedition proceeded southwestward across the present State of Alabama. At Mauvilla, an Indian village not far from the present site of Mobile, a nightmare of sudden attack and deadly battle was experienced. When wounds had healed the march was again taken up. Stripped of their white-god attributes and proved to the satisfaction of their Indian foes, by the acid tests of flame and battle, to be but human, De Soto and his men entered the Mississippi Valley proper at its southeast corner and proceeded diagonally across the present state of Mississippi up into the country of the Chickasaw. In time that famous bluff overlooking the Mississippi was reached, where the spot-light of history is turned full upon them—the first Europeans to view that mighty river in its majestic flowing to the sea (1542).

The river was crossed at this point in the face of much hostile opposition. This was no small achievement when the perilous circumstances are understood. On the other side the march led through the White River country in the northern part of what is now Arkansas, and as far west as the present site of Fort Smith. Still was there no evidence of the existence of what they sought. Next they proceeded south, then southeast down the banks of the Arkansas River to its mouth. A little

distance below where this stream enters the Mississippi stood the Indian village of Guachoya, in the most thickly populated section that the expedition had so far passed through. Near this village, camp was pitched,—a camp that was to witness the tragic climax to their adventures, and the end of their long held hopes. For it was here that De Soto sickened and died and was buried secretly to maintain a myth that he was still alive, lest surrounding foes exult unduly. Later, his form was taken up in the dead of the night and given sepulture in the river of his discovery which has so long and faithfully preserved his memory.

Bancroft and other historians fix the place of De Soto's death and burial near the mouth of the Red river in Louisiana. More recently, however, the expedition's route of travel has been gone over very carefully and the places mentioned in the two principal original narratives of the expedition, identified. The evidence seems to be indisputable that Guachoya was located in the lower end of Deshay or upper end of Chicot County in the southeastern corner of Arkansas.[1]

Pass now the years, six or seven decades of them. We hasten to the time when the French gain their first feeble foothold in Canada, Quebec being established in 1608. The one instance in Colonial history where implacable enmity on the part of the Indian was incurred by the French, was the result of an error of policy upon the part of Samuel

[1] See, Lewis: *Explorations in the Southwest.*

Champlain, the founder of Quebec. In the long existing feud between the powerful Iroquois of the "finger lake" region of central New York and the Huron tribes of Canada, Champlain naturally sided with the Hurons and aided them in battle. For this the French were never forgiven by the formidable confederacy of the Iroquois.

The Iroquois barred the way to French exploration southward, otherwise French influence, if not possession, might have extended down the Hudson to the sea before the Dutch settlement of Manhattan Island. Explorational activities, therefore, took a westward trend, Lake Huron coming more thoroughly within the ken of the French before Lakes Ontario and Erie. For Brulé traced the shores of this lake as early as 1624, while ten years afterwards Nicollet extended the limits of geographical knowledge as far west as the Wisconsin country.

With the advance of the French this far westward, rumor came to them of a mighty river to be found still further to the west—a river flowing southward and doubtless reaching to the great South Sea. A desire to know the truth about this river soon prevailed. It inspired the Intendant, Talon, to entrust the undertaking to Louis Joliet, a trader experienced in the business of exploration and familiar with the ways of the Indians.

Joliet repaired to *Sault Ste. Marie*,—the falls in the river connecting Lakes Huron and Superior. Here he was joined by Père Marquette, Missionary

Priest, and five Frenchmen described in the chronicles as "resolute, able, and willing to endure every hardship in so glorious an enterprise."

The little expedition made its way to the Wisconsin country, ascending the Fox River to the portage by which the Wisconsin river was reached. The Indians with whom they came in contact were awe-struck at the boldness of the proposed adventurous voyage to unknown realms lying far to the south. They told weird tales of the enormous monsters to be encountered in the lower reaches of the great river which the Frenchmen proposed to descend. Doubtless the alligators so numerous near its mouth were the basis of these expressed fears.

Unheeding all warnings Marquette and Joliet continued on their way. They arrived at the mouth of the Wisconsin June 17, 1673. Here we have the second great picture hung on the line in the gallery of Western wilderness history,—De Soto and his men on the Chickasaw Bluff being the first. We see the little band of Frenchmen in their canoe floating out of the mouth of the Wisconsin into the Mississippi and starting on their voyage down stream, the saintly Farther Marquette standing in the bow of the canoe holding high his crucifix as if he would have it light his way upon his adventurous voyage.

Of this historic voyage, Father Marquette himself has left a quaint and interesting "relation." He speaks of slowly and peacefully floating with

the stream, now south, now southeast, and, at times, apparently retracing their course with the bends and sinuosities of the river. He notes along the shores, the absence of mountains and heavy forests to which they were accustomed in the more northern latitudes. He writes of beautiful islands covered with trees, causing the river to fork, so that at times they knew not which branch to take. The "wild beef"—buffaloes—came under his observation. He tells of the precautions that had to be taken, night after night, against surprise by possible savage enemies, never landing for a camp but anchoring their canoe a safe distance from shore and thus passing the night with a sentinel constantly on watch.

But savages were met with and found not always hostile. At least one instance is given where the voyagers landed and were given royal entertainment in the way of a great feast. The *menu* consisted of corn meal boiled in water and seasoned with grease; deliciously cooked fish,—doubtless the famous Mississippi cat-fish, known when served in restaurants as tenderloin trout; a large dog newly killed and roasted to a turn; buffalo meat, which doubtless was received with greater favor by the French guests than *chien roti.* And as they sat around the festal board Indian fingers skilfully divided the various foods into tempting morsels and thrust them into the mouths of the guests, a mark of signal honor and respect which it were not wise for the guests to reject.

And thus adventuring, the expedition proceeded down stream until the mouth of the Arkansas was reached. Here they considered the evidence conclusive, that the great river upon which they had been floating these many weeks, really did continue to the sea. So they turned back, and, with much slower rate of travel up stream than that with which they had descended, they laboriously made their way and, in time, reached Canada. In reporting the results of their travels they gave the *seigneurs* and *habitans* of the St. Lawrence Valley something to think about, something to dream about, something to inspire the budding genius of New France and arouse determination to make this boundless West France's very own.

Living at this time in Canada, and himself engaged in explorational enterprises was one Robert Cavalier de La Salle, *protégé* of Count Frontenac, Governor of Canada at that time. He was a native of Rouen, France; born in 1643; educated a Jesuit; possessed of great physical strength and endurance; energetic of character; resourceful in emergencies; dominant of will; never inclined to deviate from a fixed purpose, and withal, concealing under a cold, austere exterior a fiery ambition to become famous, to blazon his name among the illustrious ones whose part in the making of the world's history is that of empire building.

La Salle, upon his arrival in Canada, had established himself just below Montreal, bestowing the name *La Chine* upon his homestead. But he was too

restless a spirit to settle down to the life of a seigneur—a sort of lord-of-the-manor, with his *habitans* and *engagées* around him. Receiving Frontenac's permission to explore the region south of the lakes, La Salle sold his place of La Chine and with the proceeds bought four large canoes, engaged fourteen men and two Indian guides and set out from Montreal July 6, 1669. This was before Marquette and Joliet had received similar authority to explore more to the west.

Accompanying La Salle were a Sulpician missionary—M. Dolliere de Casson—and the Abbé Gallinée. The party reached Lake Ontario in the early part of August following, and made the discovery at its further end of the falls of Niagara. Continuing on they arrived at Lake Erie where La Salle was taken ill. About this time de Casson and Gallinée branched off from the expedition and betook themselves to the Lake Huron region in search of copper which they had heard was to be found there.

La Salle and his men continued their exploration south of Lake Erie and in time arrived at the Ohio River making their way as far as its falls, where Louisville was afterward built. Here La Salle was suddenly abandoned by his men, the deserters leaving him little to sustain him on that long 400-league solitary journey back to Canada. The journey, however, was finally accomplished, and chagrined at his having had thus to abandon the enterprise he took up the life of a trader for

a while, serving as interpreter for Frontenac because of his knowledge of the Iroquois and other tongues which he had acquired preparatory to dedicating himself to exploration work.

With the return of Marquette and Joliet with the news of that farther West and its great river, La Salle was inspired anew. He visioned a great French empire in the heart of the American continent. He assumed that the great river made known by Marquette and Joliet poured into that great "South Sea" which was first beheld and waded in by Balboa. He arrived at the conviction that that river and sea was the long sought for passageway through the American continent to China and the Indies of the far East. He planned a chain of forts extending in a crescent from Montreal to the Mississippi's mouth that would not only guard the right-of-way but would give France possession and dominion and enable her to hedge the English into narrow confines.

To secure financial backing for a new expedition, La Salle set out for France, bearing a letter of introduction from the Count de Frontenac to the French minister. "He is an intelligent and very able man," says Frontenac in this letter, "the ablest of all known to me here to undertake any enterprise or exploration with which he may be entrusted, because of his perfect knowledge of the country and its conditions, which you may ascertain if you will give him but a few moments hearing."

La Salle found a warm supporter in the Prince de Conti through whose influence he was honored with a patent of nobility for his past services as an explorer. He was also given the command of Fort Frontenac (Kingston, Canada) upon condition that he replace the stockaded fortifications with stone. The King granted him at the same time the right to continue his explorations both south and west.

La Salle's family, inspired by his success and by the favor shown him at the French court, now rallied to his financial assistance. In returning to America he took with him upon the recommendation of the Prince de Conti, an experienced chivalrous soldier of fortune in the person of Henri de Tonti, who in the trying years that followed was to serve him with undeviating loyalty, faithfully and well. Tonti had lost a hand through the premature explosion of a grenade in one of the wars in which he had participated, and he had substituted for the missing member an iron hook which he wielded with great skill.

And here the Muse of History pauses to regard this pair,—Seigneur of the Iron Purpose and Chevalier of the Iron Hand. She writes their deeds upon the choicest of her pages devoted to the Valley's early chronicles of heroism and adventurous achievement. Towns, counties and city streets from one end of the Valley to the other commemorate the fame and perpetuate the name of the indomitable leader. But we must not forget that

possibly that name would now shine with lesser luster had it not been for the sustaining faith and unconquerable spirit of this loyal and able and comparatively unknown lieutenant.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PRINCE OF AMERICAN EXPLORERS

LA SALLE sailed from La Rochelle July 14, 1678, and reached Quebec the early part of September. He repaired at once to Fort Frontenac where his first task was to construct a bark of forty tons to ply on the waters of Ontario. Next he proceeded to Niagara where he planned another fort as a second link in the line of communications he intended establishing, and left it to Tonti to complete. Here above the falls a second bark was built,— the ill-fated *Griffon*, the first to ply on the waters of Lake Erie, to the awe and wonderment of the natives living on its shores.

Returning to Frontenac, La Salle completed that fort as per agreement and spent the spring of 1679 in accumulating stores and visiting various Indian tribes to select guides for the great undertaking for which preparations were being made. Again he set out for Fort Niagara where by this time Tonti had finished the construction. The *Griffon* awaited him at anchor above the falls. Everything was now ready for the departure and the adventurers set out.

La Salle navigated the length of Lake Erie successfully notwithstanding a severe storm that was encountered, entered Lake Huron, stopped at Michilimackinac and finally reached the lower end of Lake Michigan. Here he traded with the Indians to such good effect that the *Griffon* was heavily loaded with valuable furs and pelts, and dispatched to Fort Niagara where the furs were to be disposed of and needed supplies taken on for the return. The *Griffon*, setting off with the hopes of the owner as well as valuable cargo entrusted to its keeping, never arrived, however, at her destination. No trace of her was ever found. Whether she was sunk by storm, captured and destroyed by warlike natives or scuttled by her own crew after dividing among themselves the valuable cargo which they could easily have secretly disposed of through traders ignorant of the origin of the purchased furs, remains a mystery.

Meanwhile La Salle, while awaiting the return of the *Griffon*, busied himself exploring the region about the head of Lake Michigan. By means of a canoe he reached the Miami River where he built a stone fort. He then went by portage from the Miami to the Illinois River and on its banks, January 14, 1680, built a fourth fort on which he was subsequently to bestow the name of *Crève Cœur*,—the Fort of the Broken Heart,—because of all the bitter disappointments and spirit-crushing experiences he was to encounter in that vicinity.

The loss of the *Griffon* was followed by other

disasters in succession. La Salle and Tonti had repaired to the country of the Illinois confidently counting upon entering into friendly relations with the natives and there establishing a new base of supplies from which to start on his final expedition. He found sinister influences at work among the Illinois which he traced to the Iroquois, and certain of his men becoming terrified at the tales told by the natives of the great dangers that awaited them, sought to break up the expedition by poisoning their leader.

With his communications cut by the loss of the *Griffon*, with mutiny rampant among his men and increasing hostility around him, nothing remained but to leave Tonti in charge and himself take up the long journey back to Canada which he did mostly on foot. Followed then another year of delay and preparations. Finally he returned to the Illinois country where he reached the limit as far as discouragements were concerned. He found the fort destroyed and the few supplies and equipment he had left there on deposit against his return scattered and lost. At first he feared catastrophe had overtaken Tonti, but the gallant Chevalier had managed to hold his men together and had moved to a more defendable position for greater safety.

With the reunion of the leader and his lieutenant thus effected, it was determined to lose no further time trying to keep in close touch with their Canadian bases, but to strike out at once and upon their own resources start on their voyage down the

Mississippi. But first, Father Hennepin was sent upon a secondary expedition up the Mississippi in search of its source. The little party reached Minnesota, discovered the falls of St. Anthony, where they were captured and held prisoners by hostile Sioux Indians. It might have fared ill with them had not some French traders who had thus early penetrated to this region and established friendly relations with the natives, interceded for them and secured their release. One of these traders bore the name of Daniel Greysolon Dulhut. Hennepin did not rejoin La Salle but returned to his Canadian abode where in time he was to draw up a narrative advancing many claims for his own achievements that were afterwards proven to be without foundation.

Headed by La Salle and Tonti, the main party set out down the Illinois river to its mouth where they entered the Mississippi February 6, 1682. It is interesting to note the names of the members of this historic party, which, as they are rarely given in general works, are here recorded. For it seems that men who did what they did in these early and primitive times in the Valley deserve, at least, mention and not oblivion. There were in all twenty-three Frenchmen and eighteen Indian warriors accompanied by six squaws and three children. Of the Frenchmen there were, first, La Salle, commanding for the King; Sieur de Tonti, Captain of Brigade; the Reverend Father Zenobe, a Recollet priest; the Sieur de Boisrondet; Jacques

Bourdon, Sieur d'Autray; Jean Michel, Surgeon; Pierre Prud'homme, Armorer; Jacques la Meterie, Notary; Jacques Cochois, Anthoine Bassard, Jean Masse, Pierre You, Colin Grevel, Jean de Lignon, André Henault, Gabriel Barbier, Pierre Migneret, Nicolas de la Salle, André Bobœuf, Piere Buret, Louis Baron, Jean Pignabel, and finally one designated as simply La Violette.

On the way down the Mississippi short stops were made at the mouths of the Missouri and Ohio rivers. The first landing of importance, however, was made in the vicinity of what is now Memphis, on one of the Chickasaw Bluffs. A fort was here laid out and named Prud'homme after the armorer and to commemorate an adventure of his during which he wandered away and was lost. Here it was that the ceremony of taking possession was formally performed. The Notary accompanying the expedition attended to all the legal forms and made them of record.

Leaving Fort Prud'homme, La Salle continued the voyage down stream. Along the lower reaches of the river he encountered a number of hostile demonstrations from the natives along its banks,—chiefly of the Quinipissas tribe,—but not sufficiently formidable to deter him from his purpose. He finally arrived at the mouth of the river with his objective accomplished. Here on April 9, 1682, he erected a cross blazoned with the French coat of arms and by proclamation took formal possession of the river and all its tributaries, and of

all the lands watered by the river and its tributaries, in the name of Louis XIV, King of France. In honor of the French King he named the river St. Louis and the land Louisiana.

With this ceremony performed and this bestowal of a name upon the region, the great valley of the Mississippi ceases to be an undefined wilderness and becomes a geographical entity, its name writ large across America's map from Alleghany's heights to mountains Rocky. Thus came into existence a definite area that subsequently was to be subjected to diplomatic attention and contended for by nations, and still later to be cut up to form many great American commonwealths contributing to our country's greatness.

From the mouth of the Mississippi La Salle made his way back to Canada and then to France. Here he was indeed well received. Acclaim was showered upon him. Every facility was now extended him to complete the undertaking he had begun, which was to hold by occupancy the empire he had explored and taken formal possession of. The ships *Joly* and *Amiable*, the brig *La Belle* and the ketch *St. Francis* were placed at his disposal. In these he set sail with a colony of 250 persons. It is interesting to note the personnel of this first colony from Europe intended to be planted in the Mississippi Valley. Included among its number were twelve young gentlemen, five priests, fifty soldiers and twelve immigrant families, all well supplied with provisions and implements.

On the way over La Salle stopped at Petit Gouave, San Domingo, a rendezvous for buccaneers, among whom were a number of Germans of spirit, too accustomed to the wild times of the Thirty Years' War to settle down at the close of that long drawn-out conflict. La Salle here enlisted some new men, among whom was a German ex-artillerist named Hans but gallicized, in the original narratives, as Hiens, who was to play a sinister part in the colonizing expedition.

The *St. Francis*, being a slow sailer, was captured by Spanish privateers. The remaining vessels entered the Gulf of Mexico and sailed northwest. The mouth of the Mississippi was missed and the expedition coasted along the shores of what is now Texas. Failing in their search for the great river it was determined to land anyhow. An exploring party found an inlet, the channel of which they staked, so that the vessels could enter in safety. This the *Joly* and the *La Belle* did, but the *Amiable* struck a sand bar and soon went to pieces. The bay they entered was called St. Bernard and is now known as Matagorda. As soon as the colonists landed, Beujeu, La Salle's naval commander, with whom he had never been in agreement, returned to France leaving the *La Belle*. But this vessel was soon wrecked and the colonists were thus thrown wholly upon their own resources.

Ascent of a river which they named Les Vaches (Lavaca) from the cattle-like buffaloes grazing on its banks was made. They landed and built Fort

St. Louis. This was in the year 1686. The establishment of this post was to serve one hundred and thirty or more years afterward as foundation for the claim that Louisiana, the baptismal name of the Valley, extended along the Gulf Coast this far west, at least,—a claim that was to be compromised by agreement upon the Sabine river as boundary line.

La Salle made two expeditions to the northeast hoping to reach the French posts in Illinois that by now had been established by Canadians following the trail he had originally blazed.

Accompanied by his brother, his nephew and eighteen others he made his way well to the eastward in what is now Texas. Here in revenge for some fancied injury, Lancelot, one of the men, formed a plot against him and was joined by three others—Liotot, Hiens and Duhault. The conspirators were successful. La Salle was enticed from camp, waylaid, and killed by Duhault, who, in turn, was subsequently killed by Hiens in a quarrel.

After La Salle's death, the expedition went to pieces. The dissatisfied ones joined the neighboring Indians and in time lost all further identity as Europeans. La Salle's brother and six loyal ones made their way to the land of the Arkansas where a small post had been established by Tonti about the time the French were landing at Matagorda Bay. This was called Arkansas Post and is credited with being the first settlement planted

upon the banks of the river discovered by De Soto, explored by Marquette and brought within the dominion of France by La Salle.

Here the newcomers told their pitiful tale of failure, miscarried plans and disasters. They learned that Tonti, faithful as ever, had himself made the long drift voyage to the river's mouth to meet his superior and the expedition from Europe, but had returned from his fruitless quest, little knowing the dire need of his old commander surrounded by treachery in the wilds of Texas. To La Salle was not given the work of erecting the structure, but upon the foundations laid by him, others were to build and pay tribute to his memory as planner and designer.

CHAPTER FIVE

FRENCH BEGINNINGS IN THE LOWER VALLEY

ALTHOUGH the first French settlements of upper Louisiana ante-date those of the lower yet the more important part played by the latter in the early history of the Mississippi Valley, entitles them to more than a passing consideration. In connection with the establishment of these settlements there comes upon the scene Pierre Lenoyne, Sieur d'Iberville, a Canadian of sturdy Norman stock, one of eleven brothers all of whom served France faithfully and well.

The period of American beginnings presents no more historic a figure than Iberville. As an officer in the Navy of France, he had risen to highest distinction. His brilliant exploits in the waters of Newfoundland and Hudson Bay during the wars with England had stamped him as one of the very few naval commanders of Latin extraction who have ever succeeded in injecting discordant notes into English singings of "Britannia Rules the Waves."

Iberville was commissioned to establish settlements in lower Louisiana so as to complete the

French occupancy of the Mississippi Valley. The decision of France to revive the enterprise which brought disaster and death to La Salle, was arrived at none too soon. The Spaniards of Mexico on their mission-planting marches were approaching nearer and nearer from the Southwest. Adventurous traders from the Atlantic seaboard were already threatening a commercial invasion of the lower Valley, similar to what they had already accomplished in the upper. England herself was planning to take actual possession of the region along the lower Mississippi as a part of her Carolina grants, which were assumed to extend indefinitely due west from the Atlantic. If France would possess the lower Valley she must occupy the territory.

The first settlement was made in 1699 near what is now Ocean Springs, on the Gulf Coast of Mississippi, upon a beautiful bay named Biloxi from a near-by Indian tribe. The fort erected was called Maurepas, after the Count of that name, son of the French Minister of Marine. The first governor was Sieur de Sauvolle, mistakenly assumed by many historians to be one of the numerous brothers of Iberville, because of a similarity of names.

The second governor, Jean Baptiste Le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville was, indeed, a brother of Iberville's—a brother in spirit as well as blood. After the lamented death of Iberville by fever at Havana, Bienville fell heir to all the latter's determination to hold the country for France. His

strong personality, his high administrative abilities, the persistence with which he held the colonists together amid vicissitudes testing to the utmost the dauntlessness of his spirit, the enterprise he displayed in exploring the surrounding country, his tact in dealing with neighboring tribes, the facility with which he made enemies among weak and inefficient underlings, his retirement from the colony after long years of service,—all find parallel in the career of but one other colonial leader in early American history,—Captain John Smith of Virginia.

The water approach to Biloxi being inadequate for ships of large size, a more accessible location was sought with the intent to establish the chief of a number of settlements to follow. Twenty-seven-mile Bluff on the Mobile River was chosen. The fort here erected was called Fort Louis. The location was changed subsequently to the present site of the City of Mobile (1710).

Down stream where the river widens out and its waters mingle with those of the Gulf had been found an island, containing a large and gruesome collection of human skeletons. The discoverers called this Massacre Island. Doubtless its beach, like other stretches of shifting sand along that coast, responded at times to certain tidal touches, and moaned weird melodies of its own which the superstition of the early settlers interpreted as requiems over races passed away.[1] A Poe would have seen

[1] A number of legends are attached to the "singing sands" of Pascagoula near by.

in the flat low-lying surface of the island, a scroll; the scattered upstanding "shriveled pines" swaying to each passing breeze, so many quills wielded by invisible hands of giant genii; the gristly relics scattered on the sands, white, ghostly, hieroglyphic inscriptions recording past calamity. To the imaginative French the island seemed a veritable "favorite ball-room for the witches of hell"; notwithstanding which, after changing its name to Dauphin Island, they erected upon it a warehouse and a receiving station from which to distribute immigrants to the several settlements.

The records of the French settlements on the Gulf coast for the first five years of their existence is a record of hardship and disaster, of famine and pestilence, of royal funds appropriated and never reaching the colony, of vessels setting out overladened with immigrants, yet delivering but few, because of being "pest ships"; of hurricanes destroying and of pirates robbing and taking their toll of supplies intended for the colony; of long periods of neglect on the part of the mother country, engrossed as she was with threatened dangers near at home; of intrigues and bickerings in the colony itself.

Frequently, it was found necessary, because of scarcity of food, to quarter the officers and soldiers of the colony upon the neighboring Indian villages, an arrangement which Penicaut, a chronicler of that day naively remarks, was enjoyed by the Indians, especially the Indian maidens, as much as

by the French—a statement verified by the baptismal records of the Mobile colony. Bienville complained frequently of the indisposition of the colonists to take up useful occupations. The least suggestion of work would cause a stampede to the Indian villages nearby, where the shirkers would be hailed and ministered to as superior beings. Indeed, they had not come, in the first place, to clear forests, to plant crops, to build dwellings, to found permanent settlements, but in the belief that the wool of wild cattle, the ores of rich mines, the pearls of the Gulf were to make them rich.

Traditions of rich copper mines, the origin of which was made manifest in after years by the discovery of the Lake Superior deposits, had come down from the upper reaches of the Mississippi to these early settlers. Indeed, one of the first acts upon landing was to dispatch Le Sueur to the upper Louisiana settlements, in search of precious ore.[1] He returned with what he thought was copper. It was sent to France, but seems never to have reached its destination.

In the midst of tragedy and disappointments a gleam of comedy shines forth. It had dawned upon the French as it dawned upon the English in connection with the Jamestown colony that the only way to insure permanency to the Louisiana colony was to provide wives for the settlers. At first houses of correction were drawn upon for the purpose, but, subsequently, a better class of young

[1] 1700.

women were selected. Because these were provided with bridal outfits, certificates of character and sundry necessary belongings, carried in a small trunk, or casket, they are referred to as "Casket Girls" (*Filles à la Cassette*).

The adulation with which they were received in the colony, compared with the subordination, which as women they had been subjected to in their home country, must have turned their heads. In the general scarcity of provisions that prevailed at times in the colony, the fastidious tastes they affected could not be pampered. Indian fare was offered them. Horrors! Were they cows, were they pigs, that they should be made to eat corn? *Pas du tout!* They would show the men a thing or two. Thus a "petticoat insurrection" began. The men were all locked out of the dwellings. Only some well aimed darts of Cupid and many, many promises on the part of the excluded spouses, who secretly chuckled while they presented somber masks of anxiety and sorrow, put an end to the revolt.

The establishment of the lower Louisiana colony was proving a costly venture to France. At a time when she was finding her financial resources taxed to the limit, she gladly seized the opportunity to put the burden of the colony's maintenance upon other shoulders. A bargain was struck, September 14, 1712, with Antoine Crozat, a merchant of great wealth and capacity for business. In consideration of his sending at least two ship-loads of settlers

yearly to the colony, and of his bearing a large proportion of the expense for the subsequent six years, he was granted, for a period of fifteen years, seigneurial jurisdiction over Louisiana; personal ownership of such landed estates as he might develop; exclusive rights to the trade of the colony, free of all taxes and duties; the privilege of importing annually, one ship-load of negro slaves from Guinea, and the authority to nominate the executive officials of the colony, subject to confirmation by the King. According to the terms of the charter, the great province extended from New Mexico to "the lands of the English of Carolina" and "from the edge of the sea as far as the Illinois."

Under the new arrangement, Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, subsequently identified with the early history of Detroit, was sent as Governor. He, with an Intendant and two Councilors, constituted a Superior Council which directed the affairs of the colony and administered "the laws, edicts and ordinances of the realm, and the custom of Paris." The appointment of Cadillac was a source of chagrin to Bienville and his friends and did not make for harmony in the colony. It was felt that faithful service had been ill requited.

News of the approach of the Spaniards to the country of the Caddodoquis in what is now northwest Louisiana, caused Cadillac to dispatch St. Denis to the Red River Country to check their advance. St. Denis established the post of Natchitoches (1714), the oldest town in the present

State of Louisiana. Shortly after, English traders began to appear among the Chickasaw and other tribes of central and north Mississippi. To counteract these, Fort Rosalie, now Natchez, was built (1716).

Communications by way of the Mississippi with the Illinois settlements and even beyond to Canada itself had already begun. Many a hardy *coureur-de-bois* transformed himself into a *voyageur*,—the earliest "boatman" to appear on the Mississippi,—and in *pirogues*, or dugouts, hollowed and shaped from tree trunks, made many a hazardous trip up and down the river.

Crozat's venture ended in failure. Having a monopoly of trade, he could not resist the temptation to profiteer,—to over-price his merchandise and under-value the furs and other products tendered him in exchange. This one-sided advantage led to indifference as to effort, stagnation as to trade, actual loss as to Crozat himself. The profitable commerce he had hoped to establish with the ports of Mexico and those of other near-by Spanish countries failed to materialize. A war with the Natchez Indians entailed unforeseen and heavy expense. In five years he was sick of his bargain and asked to be released.

CHAPTER SIX

A BUBBLE AND ITS BURSTING

NEXT comes upon the scene John Law and his famous "Company of the West," a speculative enterprise of stupendous proportion ending in panic and failure of corresponding magnitude.

Law is described as a Scotchman, a gambler, a duellist, a financial schemer, a "tempter of princes and a debaucher of colonies!" Notwithstanding all of which he was a courtly, polished man of the world whose social qualities admitted him upon an equal footing to the most exclusive circles of the European nobility of that time.

Unquestionably, Law was a financial genius of the highest order. Ideas of his originating are interwoven in the fabrics of the soundest of our modern financial systems. Methods first employed by him, though bringing him and those associated with him to shipwreck upon the rocks of financial disaster, are used successfully to-day in the exploitation and promotion of so-called Big Business.

It was Law's idea that a circulating paper currency backed by public confidence could be of

larger volume than the coin or redemptive security upon which it is based. He demonstrated this with such profit and success that his privately established bank became the Bank of France.

He was the first of his time to buy a stock or bond on margin for the purpose of inspiring by his example such confidence in its future increase of value, as to induce the public to invest in it on such a scale as to actually bring the price up beyond that promised. How many of our so-called money kings to-day have done the same.

Law devised an arrangement whereby a great bank acted as fiscal agent to collect and administer the revenues of a government. States and municipalities have since resorted frequently to this convenient arrangement.

Law conceived the plan of combining a large number of productive and commercial enterprises into one great trust, financed and underwritten by a great bank. It is startling to think that this was over one hundred and fifty years before the same idea bore fruit in our present-day, so-called "Billion-dollar Trusts."

The truth of the matter is, Law lived two centuries before his time. His greatest crime was failure, the whole blame for which seems to have been imposed upon him alone, when, as a matter of fact, disobedient, incompetent, treacherous associates should shoulder the greater share. Though he passed from the stage of his activities, a fugitive from the fury of enraged mobs, no tribute to his

tremendous abilities should be withheld, no recognition denied him as being the pioneer preëminent in the domain we now designate as High Finance.

One of Law's leading enterprises brought him into intimate relation with the pioneer peopling of the Mississippi Valley. Much was said and believed in those days about the magnificent possibilities and extreme fertility of this new country, the abundance and richness of its mines, the variety of its natural products. Law's *Compagnie de la Louisiane ou d'Occident* united the already profitable fur trade of Canada with the proprietary exploitation of Louisiana. The symbol or "arms" of the Company was prophetic of that future wealth and prosperity of the Valley which others were to enjoy, for it showed the effigy of an old river-god leaning upon a horn of plenty. Within a short time Law united several trading companies with this and gave to the associated companies the name *La Compagnie des Indes*. This "combine" was given a monoply of the foreign trade of France.

Under the original charter, which was to run twenty-five years and which was as readily obtained from the French Ministry as was that of Crozat's, the Company of the West, as it was usually called, was to have ownership of all mines; ownership of all lands it put into cultivation; the right to grant lands to its individual stock-holders upon condition that these grants be settled and improved; ownership of all forts and government

property; power to raise troops and make war upon the Indians when necessary, and finally, the right to nominate governors and officers.

The principal obligations it incurred in consideration of these concessions were, to build churches and provide priests; to develop the colony, industrially and commercially; to add at least six thousand whites and three thousand blacks to the colony's population.

One of the first official acts of the Company was to restore the experienced Bienville to the governorship. One of the first acts of Bienville after receiving the appointment was to seek the banks of the Mississippi and lay off a city upon the site he had long had in mind,—the highest ground to be found in that vicinity,—where a short bayou entering Lake Pontchatrain had its source within half a mile of the river bank. This bayou (St. John) was afterwards lengthened and deepened and is now a "navigation canal" by which the commerce of the lake is brought to the back door of the city.

The city proper as laid out, was of rectangle shape fronting one mile on the river and extending half a mile back. The river curving along this front suggested the pseudonym, "Crescent City," although the front of the larger city of to-day is more serpentine than crescent. Streets were laid off at right angles, dividing the site up into squares or "blocks." Mid-way of the river front was reserved a plaza or "*Place d'Armes*," later to be

known as Jackson Square, now an object of interest to the tourists for its many historic associations.

In the naming of the streets royalty was represented in "Rue Royale" and "Rue Dauphine." The nobility—princes, dukes and counts,—were represented in "Orleans," "Conti," "Chartres" and its continuation, "Condé," "Toulouse," "Du Maine," "Bourbon" and "Burgundy." From the Saints' calendar came "St. Peter," "St. Philip," "St. Ann," and "St. Louis." The first Catholic Sisterhood establishing a domicile in New Orleans gave its name "Ursulines" to the street upon which its convent was built. The name of the founder of the City appears in "Rue Bienville." "Hospital," "Barracks" and "Custom House" (now Iberville), the three remaining streets of the original survey, as well as Canal, Rampart and Esplanade, streets of the modern City which enclose the "Old French Town" on three sides, indicate the sources from which their names sprung.

A German immigrant landing in New Orleans from Biloxi in 1720, two years after its founding, writing to his wife in Europe quaintly describes his impression. "I betook myself," he writes, "to where they are now beginning the capital, New Orleans. Its circumference is one mile [!]. The houses are poor and low, as with us at home in the country. They are covered with bark and string reeds. Everybody dresses as he pleases but all very poorly. One's outfit consists of a suit of clothes, bed, table and trunk. Tapestry and fine

beds are unknown. The people sleep the whole night in the open air. I am as safe in the most distant part of the town as in a citadel. Although I live among savages and Frenchmen, I am in no danger. People trust one another so much they leave gates and doors open."

A French chronicler visiting Louisiana two years later describes New Orleans as a wild, lonely place of about one hundred huts, a large wooden warehouse, two or three houses and a miserable store, one half of which was devoted to religious purposes.

In 1722, when New Orleans was made capital, the first census in its history was taken. It recorded seventy-two civilians, forty-four soldiers, eleven officers, twenty-two ship captains and sailors, twenty-eight European laborers (doubtless *engagées* or indentured servants). One hundred and seventy-seven negro slaves and twenty-one Indians. Forty of the civilians, fourteen of the soldiers, two of the officers and nine of the ship captains were men of family, their children totaling thirty-eight. Thus modest were the beginnings of a city which by the middle of the succeeding century was to rank third in population among American Cities.

The Company of the West made faithful and successful efforts to carry out its contractual obligations to colonize and to enlist personages of rank and wealth in the work of colonizing its domains by making large grants of lands to individuals or companies. Madame de Mézieres and Madame

de Chaumont were granted lands along the Gulf Coast; de Guiche, de la Houssae and de la Houpe received grants along the river below New Orleans; while de Meuse, Duvernay and d'Artagnac were given lands along the river opposite New Orleans, and de Muys, just above the city. D'Artaguette's concession lay in the Baton Rouge section; St. Renie's in the vicinity of Natchez and de la Harpe's near Natchitoches. Two private companies also received concessions: Hubert, the Royal Commissary and a group of merchants were granted lands near Natchez; LeBlanc, the Secretary of State, and certain noblemen, were given title to lands near the Yazoo River.

John Law, himself, reserved a tract along the river in what is now the Southeastern corner of Arkansas. He colonized this tract with two hundred German-speaking Alsatians, who, becoming dissatisfied with the location, returned down stream and were given lands on the river above and convenient to New Orleans—a section to be thenceforth known as the "German Coast."

Sieur Renaud, a director of the Mississippi Company, received what was thought at that time to be a prize concession, his grant being in what is now south-east Missouri, where much silver was supposed to abound. In 1720 he led in person an expedition to that locality and made a thorough survey of the Maramec ore deposits, finding lead but no silver. As a part of his equipment consisted of negro slaves to work his mines, he stands on

record as the first introducer of African slavery into Missouri.

A wise policy of the Company was to encourage investment of foreign capital in the Company and to induce immigration to Louisiana from countries other than France. Prospectuses and advertisements were well circulated in the States of Central Europe. One of those printed at Leipsic in 1720 glowingly describes the Louisiana mines, the land filled with gold, silver, copper and lead. "After these mines," says the writer of this pamphlet, "we will hunt for herbs and plants for apothecaries. The savages will make them known to us. Soon we will find healing remedies for the most dangerous diseases; yes, also, say they, infallible ones for the fruits of love."

Is it any wonder that the popular imagination was fired, that thousands of Germans set out on foot to reach the embarkation ports of France, either to fall exhausted by the wayside or to be decimated in "pest ships." Two thousand, however, succeeded in reaching the Louisiana Settlements before New Orleans was three years old and although not so recognized until recently, constituted themselves a very significant element in the original Creole population of lower Louisiana.

Many of these Germans adopted the French language, intermarried with their French neighbors, and in time, lost their language and racial identity. The names, as borne to-day by some of the oldest and best types of French families in Louisiana,

are but French forms of the names of some of these early German immigrants. Engle became Hingle; Troxler, Trosclair; Huber, Oubre; Hummel, Hymel; Wilsz, Wiltz; Foltz, Folse; Ziriac, Sirjacques; Vogel, Fauquel; Zehringer, Zeringue; Wichner, Vicknair; Martin, Mar*tin* (changed in accent if not in form). An ancestral Jake Schneider, doubtless, accounts for the well-known Louisiana family name of Schexnayder. Many other examples might be cited.

However great was the failure of the Company of the Indies as a speculative enterprise, it must be credited with giving the initial impulse to European emigration to the lower Mississippi Valley the effects of which was to be felt for many a day after the dissolution of the Company. In 1712, when Crozat assumed the proprietorship of Louisiana, its population numbered a scant four hundred. Under Law's Company, its population increased to seven thousand and twenty, including six hundred negroes. When in 1731 Louisiana reverted to the French Crown, owing to the collapse of the Company of the Indies, the legacy of the latter to America was flourishing and permanent settlements along the lower Mississippi, and the founding of a city near its mouth standing at present writing second in commercial importance among the cities of the United States.

PART II

Beginnings of the English Advance Westward

CHAPTER SEVEN

RACE BARRIERS AND THEIR REMOVAL

THE Mississippi Valley, when its French settlement beginnings and its subsequent domination by Spain are considered, seems to have had a very narrow escape from having its destinies shaped by Latin ideals; its every day vernacular and its official language both alien to the English tongue; its broad extent indicated on the maps of to-day as "Province," instead of being specifically named as "States"; its government, one in which ruled a sovereignty domiciled without its borders, instead of one in which sovereignty resided in its own citizenry.

Let us recall that between the years of 1607 and 1733, there were planted along the tide-water edge of the Atlantic coast, a series of settlements which in time crystallized into thirteen political units; that these colonies increased in population with the influx of successive newcomers from the Old World who had been lured by the promises of the New; that this increase forced an expansion of the areas of occupancy, which expansion could extend only in one general direction—away from the coast.

The taking of new lands in the wilderness regions of the interior went on with comparative slowness during the colonial era. Even as late as 1790, when the English colonies had become American States, the belt of occupancy averaged in width scarcely two hundred and fifteen miles.

The slowness with which population moved westward at this time, is accounted for by the obstacles which interposed against migration westward. Many of these obstacles were of a geographical or physiographical nature, but the principal one was that of race. For the Red Man barred the way at many points. He had to be cajoled by gift-givings, driven back by force, exterminated by war before the proverbial land-hunger of the English could find appeasement.

It is interesting to note, in passing, how different was the attitude of the English toward the Indians, from that of each of the other nations concerned principally in the colonizing of America. To the Spaniard of the Southwest, the Indian was a serf; to the Dutch of New York, a good customer; to the French of Canada, a comrade; to the English of the thirteen colonies, a cumberer of the earth.

Spanish missions established priestly and patriarchal control over the Red Man. Dutch traders and wampum makers welcomed him for the profit he brought them. French adventurers and Canadian *coureurs-de-bois* became son or brother or priestly mentor to him, appreciated his view-point, conserved his self-respect by meeting him on the

common ground of manhood. The English settlement makers and their successors, the American frontiers-man, wrested his domain from him, exterminated him, drove him forth from the land of his fathers.

Indian wars successively engaged in, stand as milestones along the way from the Atlantic seaboard to the interior. Near the coast were fought the first Opecancanough War in Virginia (1622), the Pequot War in Connecticut (1635), King Philip's War in Massachusetts (1675), the Tuscarora War in North Carolina (1711), and the Yamassee War in South Carolina (1715).

This tier of Indian wars, in modern military parlance, constituted a first line of intrenchments over the top of which the English settlers went after slaughtering and driving back its occupants. When the second line was reached there were fought the second Opecancanough War in Virginia (1644), the Cherokee War in western North and South Carolina (1757), the several Indian wars along the New York and New England frontier inspired by the French of Canada, and, most formidable of all, the general Indian war in western Pennsylvania and the then Northwest, known as Pontiac's War (1763).

The first two of these second-tier wars cleared the way to the labyrinthian barriers of the Appalachians whose gaps and valleys through which streams of settlers afterwards made their way into the great valley region beyond were thus made free to the way-discoverers and trail-blazers.

The Cherokee War and the war with Pontiac were supplementary to the so-called "Old French War" (1755–1763), the last and most important of the four armed conflicts in which Colonial France and Colonial England struggled for American supremacy.

Long before the approach of the English reached the Appalachian barriers, the *fleur-de-lys* banner of France had been flung to the breeze in the great valley beyond. Indeed, to the credit of the Gallic race, it may be said that throughout the colonial history of America, France seems to have shown the greater initiative.

The precedence of priority was hers even in the very first attempts to colonize, for the three ill-fated French Huguenot failures on the coasts of Florida and South Carolina anticipate Raleigh's three failures for England at Roanoke Island, North Carolina, by something like thirty years. When England did finally secure her first permanent foothold on the continent of America at Jamestown, Virginia, France had already established her first successful settlement at Fort Royal, Nova Scotia, two years before (1605).

Twelve years before the Puritans landed at Plymouth, Quebec was a French Gibraltar dominating the St. Lawrence valley for France. Montreal was well under way before the beginnings of New York were laid on Manhattan Island. Maryland was yet to have its first settlers when Brulé was completing his circuit of Lake Superior.

Nicollet was at home in Wisconsin before Rhode Island, Delaware or North Carolina were colonized. Minnesota was won for France by Grosseilliers and Radison before the English established the colony of New Jersey. The voyage of Marquette and Joliet down the Mississippi was a ten-year memory when Penn founded the City of Brotherly Love. At the time of the first coming of the Quakers, La Salle was writing the name, *Louisiana*, in letters large across the map of the Western World, by proclaiming every inch of soil watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries to be under the dominion of His Gracious Majesty, Louis XIV of France.

Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Alabama and Louisiana were occupied by the French before the English occupied Georgia. Mobile, Biloxi, Natchez, New Orleans, Natchitoches and Kaskaskia, by virtue of French initiative, are older towns than Savannah. Sixteen years before the founding of the Georgia city, Du Tisne was waving the flag of France as far west as "the country of the Panis"—the Pawnee country, now Kansas.

Two years only after the founding of the colony of Georgia, quaint, historic St. Genevieve, Mo., came into existence; and only ten years after, the La Verendryé brothers, bold young French adventurers, were making their way to the Rocky Mountains by way of the Missouri River, planting on its banks the leaden plates whose inscriptions were the recorded title deeds

of the French to ownership of the vast region traversed.

Before the English advance westward reached the Appalachians, a crescent of French forts and posts, extending from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, was throwing constricting arms around the outposts of the English, with a view to inhibiting any future advance. Starting from Ticonderoga and Crown Point in northern New York, this line of posts and forts extended to Forts Toulouse and Louis de la Mobile in Alabama and included Frontenac, now Kingston, Canada, Niagara in western New York, Presque Isle, Le Bœuf and Venango in western Pennsylvania, Ouistanon and Vincennes on the Wabash and Marsac on the Ohio.

When to migrate from overpopulated eastern sections of Pennsylvania and New Jersey to the less populated regions of western Virginia and central North Carolina by well-blazed, easily traveled ways, was assumed to require an enterprise of spirit of a very high order, and a courage to command admiration, Canadians were making long journeys to and from Louisiana by way of Lake Erie and the rivers Maumee, Wabash, Kaskaskia, Ohio and Mississippi, regarding such feats as only those of ordinary accomplishment, through thousands of miles of wilderness, encountering perils to daunt the most courageous.

All in all, we cannot but admire the clear vision of those who first represented France in the New World, and the promptness with which they ap-

preciated the great possibilities of the Mississippi Valley. Nor can we withhold our tribute of respect at the daring of those who bore the *Fleur-de-Lys* banners of France into the American wilderness and the strenuous efforts they made that France might profit from a realization of these possibilities.

On the other hand, we cannot find a more characteristic instance of dogged persistence upon the part of the English,—the faculty "to muddle through, somehow," by which the Briton, notwithstanding his later start, wrested from France possession and dominion over the greater portion of the American continent.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY

VIRGINIA, oldest, wealthiest, and most populous of the thirteen English colonies, was first to feel the urge of the westward movement. As early as 1710, Governor Spottswood and his "Knights of the Golden Horseshoe" had in a spirit, semi-romantic, ridden over the steeps of the first mountain barrier into the magnificent "Valley of Virginia"—the valley afterwards made famous as the scene of Stonewall Jackson's greatest feats of strategy. It needed but to be thus visited and its possibilities made known to start a long series of pioneer movements.

In time, a stream of home seekers from Pennsylvania and New Jersey poured down the valley, reaching well into central and western North Carolina, interposing cross currents to those moving west from tidewater Virginia. Included in this migratory movement southwestward were large numbers of militant, assertive, liberty-loving, fervidly-religious Scotch-Irish of grim demeanor and determined purpose. Also, placid, peace-loving Germans of a type somewhat different to those

of a later day. These, as they squatted and took up land-holdings along the way, gave expression to their sense of humor in naming their holdings, which they did in a spirit of parody and burlesque of the stately baronial possessions of the slave-holding landowners to the east of them,—"Batchelor's Delight," "Found It Out," "Small Bit," "Thereabouts," "New Work," etc. Thus were the colonial Virginians, themselves, excluded in large part from their natural patrimony by the transverse tide filling up the first of their back valleys. When the time came for these Virginians to feel the migratory urge to a farther West, they were joined by successive generations of those who first peopled the valley spied out by the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe.

The system of large individual land-holdings,—barony-like estates,—worked by slave labor, scattered the whites thinly over given areas in Virginia and did little to encourage the wage earner and small farmer to believe that Opportunity was to be found under such conditions. By the middle of the eighteenth century need was to open up Virginia's splendid wilderness domain which, under the terms of her charter grant, extended "west and northwest, up into the land from sea to sea." And just as the original colonization of Virginia was undertaken by a "Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London," chartered by the Crown, so the "Great Woods," as this wilderness region was called, was bestowed upon a chartered

body of Virginia and British capitalists known as "The Ohio Company."

Surveyors were sent to the region between the Monongahela and the Kanawha Rivers. They found the French already in possession, however, and were forced to return. Now into the spotlight, for the first time in American history, steps George Washington. Bearing a message of protest, from the Governor of Virginia, he made his way through the western wilderness, found the French Commandant, was received with punctilious politeness and was sent back with the distinguished assurance, that, inasmuch as France had long ago made her title to the territory clear by right both of exploration and occupancy, however much it might pain her humble representative to do so, he, the French Commandant, was under compulsion to deny the request of his English-speaking friends that he withdraw himself from the region. Thus, outwardly; but aside, there were sundry shruggings of shoulders. "*Vraiement!* These English! Truly have they the effrontery!"

Back came an expeditionary force of Virginians, Fry, Colonel, Washington, Lieutenant Colonel, with orders to drive the French from the Ohio Company's lands—an early instance of a government aiding to enforce by war the rights of capital invested abroad by its citizens. The commander of this expedition being incapacitated by illness, it was a case of let George do it; so Lieutenant-Colonel Washington took the field, encountered a

French scouting party led by Chevalier Jumonville de Villiers, annihilated it and slew its commander. He, in turn, was penned up by young Coulon de Villiers, brother of Jumonville, who forced the Virginians to surrender. Courtly and polished gentleman that he was, Coulon exacted no toll for his brother's death, sought no revenge for his personal loss. Poor, deluded English! They knew not the power of France! Here, march out, return to your homes unmolested and let this be a lesson to you. Do not come here again.

Thus did Coulon de Villiers work for peace under provocation; thus did he institute a policy of watchful waiting, which in modern times has gained many adherents. No *casus belli* can be laid at his door. But, alas, for the realm whose true knight he was! He lived to see its glory dimmed, its flag furled, its cause go down to defeat. Fifty years after his victory over the young commander of the English, who was destined to take a place among the foremost leaders of all time, he died a loyal Louisianian, in the city of New Orleans. It had been given him to see England, the one-time foe of his beloved country, humbled by this antagonist of his youth; to look on at the birth of the Great American Republic under this same antagonist's leadership; to witness "the young giant of the west" rise out of the wilderness which Marquette had prayed over, La Salle had won and his own valor had defended in vain.

Formal war followed Washington's defeat at

Fort Necessity,—a war whose principal result was to glut to satiety the land-hungry English. The conduct, campaigns, individual happenings and diplomacy of this war have no place in these pages. It lasted eight years. In dash, in brilliancy, in inspiring leadership, in unyielding courage, even after the thumb of fate had pointed downward in decision against them, the French showed superiority. Amherst and Wolfe wear the laurel crowns of victory, but Montcalm looms large on that distant horizon, a Lee leading a lost cause to its Appomattox of Abraham's Heights. The deciding battle of Quebec is a binary in the firmament of glory, with Montcalm and Wolfe as its twin stars shining with blended refulgence.

The result of the "Old French War" was to strip France of her American possessions. When disaster overtook her, she secretly deeded Louisiana, or the Mississippi Valley, to Spain by private act passed at Fontainebleau (1762). Later (1763) a treaty was signed at Paris to which England, France and Spain were parties. By this treaty Canada and the eastern half of the Mississippi Valley, the island of Orleans excepted, fell to England; the western half and the island of Orleans to Spain, who in turn relinquished her possessions of East and West Florida to England.

Judged by its immediate results England's victory seemed an unqualified one. In the end it proved costly, indeed, for it gave to the men of the seaboard colonies valuable experience in the art of

war. It removed from these colonies the menace of the French foe to the west and northwest of them, for protection from whom they had so long been dependent upon the mother country. It inspired the men of these colonies with self reliance from which their pioneering spirit sprang, and in the course of time this spirit of self reliance was to prompt and this war experience was to prepare them to take such stand for the enlargement of their liberties as true Englishmen, that nothing but complete independence would answer.

The war of the American Revolution followed closely upon this decided stand. Not the least among the many causes of this war was an act of Parliament passed in 1774, known as the Quebec Act, and designed to insure the loyalty of England's new French-speaking subjects in the northwest by extending the domain of Canada southwestward to the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, so that their political and social affiliations with French-speaking Canada would remain unbroken. This act angered the English colonists of the seaboard and the pioneers of the back countries, for it ignored all claims to what was afterward designated "The Northwest Territory" held by the several English colonies under their charter grants.

The War for American Independence resulting in the establishment of the United States, England lost her share of the valley domain she had won in the "Old French War." Her reluctance to surrender to the United States possession of the sev-

eral posts acquired from the French in the Northwest, each with its valuable fur and Indian trade, was one of the two dynamic causes of the second war with England (1812), occasioning that country further loss in treasure and prestige, if not in land.

The removal of the French barrier left only the further menace of the Indians beyond the Alleghanies. When the English colonies became States and the States a union of States, the challenge of the red man, successively made, was successively and successfully met. Little Turtle and his Miamis in Ohio, Tecumseh and his Shawnees in Indiana, McGilvray and Wethersford and their combinations of Creeks, Chickamaugas, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and other tribes in Alabama and Tennessee, Black Hawk and his Sacs and Foxes in northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin, all went to final defeat, yielding up their lands to settlement and removing racial obstructions from the right of way to the Mississippi and beyond.

PART III

The Furl of the Fleur-de-Lys Flag

CHAPTER NINE

A LATIN ECHO TO AMERICA'S LIBERTY CALL

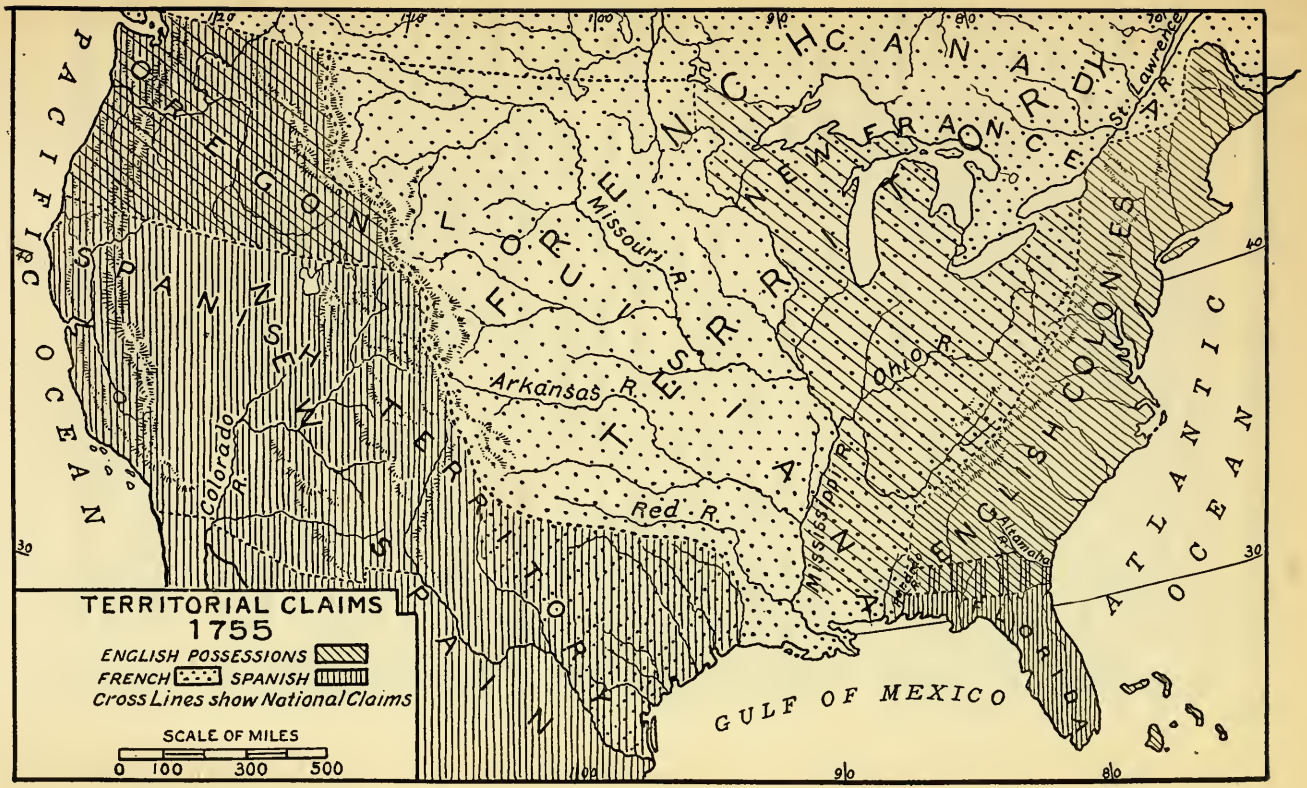
WHEN by "Private Act," passed with much unnecessary secrecy at Fontainebleau November the third, 1762, His Most Christian Majesty, Louis XV, ceded "of his own free will" to his "beloved cousin," the King of Spain, and "to his successors and heirs in full property, completely and without reserve or restriction, all the country known as Louisiana, and also New Orleans and the island on which it is situated," he did so apparently as a mark of favor and esteem. In reality he was giving Spain a bag to hold, a bag into which France had poured much treasure and taken out but little of benefit in return.

It was the third effort made by France to rid herself of what she regarded as an encumbrance. This riddance was now more necessary than it had ever been. The disastrous war with England had brought the French exchequer to a state of depletion. Drains upon the French purse had to be stopped; unprofitable royal enterprises no longer carried. Even such part of Louisiana as England did not wrest from her when the final treaty came

to be made, entailed interminable expense for maintenance and military protection. Better let others —"our beloved cousin" for instance—shoulder the burden.

Few were they in the councils of the King clear visioned enough to realize what at a later day became so evident, that a nation restricted by geographical and other conditions prevailing in Europe can reach the rank of world power only through the possession of colonies and distant dependencies. Fewer yet were they who had the genius to conceive, the statesmanship to propose, the authority to execute ways and means that would have conserved for the France of the eighteenth century in America and in far off India what the France of the twentieth century is seeking to recover in Africa.

Not until two years after the final ratification of the treaty were the Louisianians formally notified by their governor that their country had passed to the dominion of Spain. They received the announcement with consternation. Exclamations of grief and disbelief were heard on every side. It could not be really so, no matter what official proclamation might assert. Surely, it was only a temporary expedient made necessary by diplomacy and war. Were they not Frenchmen and had they not been ever loyal subjects of Louis, the well-beloved? Would he, *could* he turn his back upon them, his faithful and affectionate subjects, and with the stroke of a pen make them alien to all that they had inherited and had so treasured?



Territorial Claims and Possessions Preceding the Struggle for American Supremacy between France and England

Louis certainly could. He had looked over the ledger of their accounts from the first page. He had learned how his grandfather had failed with Crozat; how his Regent-Uncle had collapsed with Law; how he himself had an unbroken record of failure. He had arrived at the conviction that he could do nothing with or for this colonial child of his. Let Mother France renounce her own offspring and put it on the doorstep of Spain to be adopted and brought up.

Singular how the Louisianian of Latin mind began to formulate the same thoughts and take the same steps as the Anglo-Saxon under similar circumstances. The English colonists along the Atlantic seaboard were at the time passing through the period of agitation which preceded their Revolution. Here was Louisiana, far to the southwest, holding little or no communication with Virginia and Massachusetts, ignorant of the dynamic utterances of Patrick Henry, James Otis and other inspiring orators, echoing, however faintly, the general call to liberty that was going up from America, response to which began that century-and-a-half drive which, finally, was to press back the divine-right-of-kings to its last mein-self-und-Gott ditch and establish in fact as well as theory that sovereignty and self-determination dwell of right with the people.

Headed by Nicholas Chauvin de Lafrénière—let his name be remembered—Attorney General of the colony, Canadian by descent, New Orleanean

by birth, French to his heart's core, a mass meeting or convention was called to consider the state of affairs.

The most distinguished men of the colony responded. From the "German Coast," the "Acadian Coast" and other outlying "Parishes" came delegates headed by Count d'Arensbourg and Joseph Villeré. Stirred by Lafrénière's eloquence, resolutions were adopted and embodied in a memorial to the French King. This memorial was one of profession and protest. It made its appeal in the name of loyalty, of pity, of patriotism, of kinship. Measured by subsequent events, it constitutes one of the most sadly inspiring documents ever filed in the archives of any nation.

Thus began a movement which in the end was to bode ill to its chief participants. Jean Milhet, wealthy merchant, was delegated to bear the memorial to France and lay it in person before the King. Neither messenger nor memorial was permitted to reach the presence and attention of His August Majesty. After two years of heel-coolings in outer officers, Milhet despaired of getting a hearing and returned in chagrin to Louisiana.

Meanwhile, the Governor, d'Abbadie, had died and Captain Philippe Aubry, the ranking military officer in the city, assumed authority as acting governor. Aubry has written a very black page in the history of the lower Mississippi Valley and some of this blackness attaches itself to his memory and character. In all the events that followed he

kept the ringleaders of the incipient revolt under secret observation, noting their utterances, preparing himself to intrepret their activities in terms of treason and rebellion when an opportunity suitable to his purpose offered. Bear in mind that these were his own fellow subjects of the King of France, that they were doing no violence to the loyalty and allegiance due by them to their sovereign and that he turned informer for his own ends, in such a way as to single them out to be punished for crimes that could only be legally committed by Spanish subjects, when at no time had they been officially declared subjects of the Spanish Crown.

The narrative of this early American revolt begins with the arrival of Don Antonio de Ulloa, Spain's first appointed governor of the Louisiana Colony, March 5, 1766. Ulloa is described as of small size, extremely thin, nervous and excitable. He, therefore, upon first appearance naturally failed either to convey an impression of dominant personality or to indicate a quality of leadership, both of which are naturally looked for in rulers of men. He was, however, an officer of high rank in the Navy, an author of distinction, a scientist of renown, an astronomer and mathematician of the first rank.

Gayarrè, the Louisiana historian, whose ancestor came over in the suite of Ulloa, pays tribute to his natural ability, his profound learning, his sparkling wit. He is described by another writer as a bundle of odd contradictions. Says Dimitry, who has

written much of this period of history: "He was wise where wisdom was study, but foolish where wisdom was action. He was a philosopher among seamen but never quite a seamen among philosophers. By repute and in truth the most amiable of men, he transformed himself in New Orleans into one of Lope de Vega's magnificos—and sulked."

Isolated by his intellect, priding himself as superior, by birth and achievements, to the common herd, with all the aloofness of a student whose mind is elsewhere, wits wandering in a paradise of dreams of a bride soon-to-be, on the way to him from far-off Peru, he could not but be a disappointment and an irritant to the excited and excitable Louisianians, who just then needed to be halted from further imbibings at the fount of American Democracy lest indulgence in its magic waters lead to a wild carouse of liberty and bring regret,—possibly remorse,—to the inexperienced drinkers.

Ulloa came to the colony with certain preconceived ideas. One was that the Louisianians were ready to change their nationality, their allegiance, their flag, with a welcoming gladness. Had they not been cast off from their mother country without compunction? Would they not be far better under the beneficent colonial rule of Spain? He assumed, also, that the French troops domiciled in the colony would readily enlist in the service of his master, as, by the French King's authority, they were permitted to do. Was not prompt pay in Spanish coin greatly to be preferred than the

French pittances and promises which they had been receiving? Finally he was wedded to the conviction that Louisianians should be profoundly grateful at his condescending to come and rule over them. Had not the world honored him for his rank and his accomplishments and were not his praises being sounded broadcast for his scholarship and his contributions to science? Ought they not indeed to appreciate how great a man he was?

Rude indeed was his awakening. The Louisianians were not crushed with the overwhelming honor of becoming subjects of Spain. The soldiers held back from enlisting, notwithstanding the urging of their captain, Aubry. The colonists knew nothing of Ulloa's reputation and past achievements. Neither were they impressed by his presence. They failed to accept him at his self-appraised valuation. In place of greeting him with acclaim and adulation they received him with coldness and sullen disapproval. Let us sympathize with him. He really was sincere in his convictions, disposed to deal kindly with the colonists, justified in his vanity because of its substantial basis of learning and merit. But how lacking in tact! Could he have descended from his pedestal, met them face to face, told them in kindly terms that matters could not be helped and that his was not the fault of existing conditions; could he have admonished them to make the best of it, given them a pageant and a holiday of feasting to commemorate his formal inauguration; had he assured them that the restrictive commer-

cial policy of Spain towards her American colonies would be only lightly applied in their particular case; had he thrown a few sops of deference to the Cerberus of the Superior Council that had long presided over the affairs of the colony and whose members, in consequence, were imbued with ideas of their own importance, all would then have been well.

But his mind had been poisoned, his judgment warped by favor-currying representations made to him by Aubry. His characteristic sensitiveness was affected by the coldness of his reception and it caused him to draw back from further contact. He ignored the Council's request to exhibit his credentials of authority and assume actively the duties of his office. He, as Spain's representative, would treat only with Aubry, the representative of France. It was nobody's business but his own whether he published his commission by proclamation or kept it to himself. Subsequently it was claimed that he exhibited this commission in private to Aubry and this claim was to have a momentous bearing upon certain events that followed.

Moreover, according to Aubry, the colonists were naturally lawless, were at present turbulent and were heading towards revolt. Presenting credentials and consummating the formal ceremony of transfer might precipitate matters. Ulloa, therefore, chose to rule by indirection. His instructions were conveyed to Aubry, who in turn promulgated and executed them with more or less effectiveness.

A phantom of dubious authority was thus created, respect for which diminished in time to the vanishing point. Commercial regulations which he announced through Aubry and which accorded with the colonial policy of Spain aroused much indignation. These, among other provisions, restricted the maritime trade of the colony to six Spanish cities. In consequence, boisterous street crowds were wont to shout approval of French products and disapproval of Spanish products in the same breath with which they cheered for the king that had disowned them. "*Vive le vin de Bordeaux*" alternated with "*Vive le Roi*"; "*Vive Louis le bien-aime*" with "*À bas le poisson de Catalogne.*"

The situation becoming highly distasteful to him, Ulloa withdrew from New Orleans, and took up his abode amid the sedges and salt flats at the mouth of the river, one hundred miles distant. Here he put in a long period of waiting. To the people he was "sulking." To Ulloa it was a withdrawal from the ungrateful cares of state, the better to indulge his literary bent and to dream of the happiness that awaited him. Little did his enemies in the up-river town know how fortunate beyond all men he was to be. The Marchioness d'Abrado, peerless beauty of Peru, young, rich, distinguished, with every charm of mind and person, was even then upon the high seas, sailing a voyage of romance to become his bride and to hold high court in that far land over which her lover ruled. The ceremony upon her arrival was performed by Ulloa's

private chaplain, greatly to the scandal of the local clergy and of the colonists when they heard the news. They were furious that he should have thus ignored the holy church and the colony's ecclesiastics in the matter. Incidentally, he had deprived them of the spectacle and pageantry, proverbially dear to the Creole heart and which the populace under monarchical conditions always hold to be due when governor or ruler takes a wife.

Ulloa returned with his bride to the city. Enter the feminine element. Society in Louisiana had attained even at that early day a certain degree of refinement and punctilious regard for the artificial niceties of social intercourse. The wives of the leading residents declined to recognize their "first lady of the land" and deluded themselves that their snubbing and "cutting" were of torturing effect. All this was very amusing to Miladi Ulloa, very amusing indeed. Ah! but those so-foolish ones! It is to smile at their assumed importance! The happiness of the honeymoon continued undisturbed by absence of congratulatory social functions.

But serenity of household did not necessarily infer serenity in public affairs. The patience of the colonists after two years' uncertainty reached a breaking point. Ultimatum was served to Ulloa. "Show your credentials, take the reins of government in your own hands or get out. If the latter, you have just thirty days to do it in. Long live the King! Long live Louis-the-Well-Beloved! Long

Cabildo, or Capitol During the Spanish Domination of the Mississippi Valley

(From a recent photograph)

Now, the domicile of the Louisiana Historical Society and its priceless collections. From one of the small balconies shown, President McKinley delivered the commemorative address featuring the centennial celebration of the acquirement of Louisiana by the United States.

live the wine of Bordeaux! Down with the fish of Spain!"

It did not take Ulloa thirty days to decide. He embarked on a French frigate lying in the river, where on November 1st, he suffered a final indignity. In the early morning a band of boisterous roisterers came to the ship's side and with ribald shouts cut the cables and sent the vessel dangerously adrift down stream. Ulloa sailed at once to Havana and hastened direct to Spain. Ignominy had been put upon him; defeat apparently had been his. In the past, however, he had won more victories with his pen than with his sword. His enemies, the turbulent ones of the colony, were yet to know its might. With this weapon he could reach over distances of time and space and wreak vengeance more effectively than by blood lettings in vulgar hand-to-hand encounters. He filed a clear-cut, incisive, bitter report of his so-called expulsion, dynamic in its effect. Well had it been for Louisianians had they received in a different spirit this peace-loving, disturbance-avoiding scholar, else Spanish vengeance might not have begun as a faint cloud upon a distant horizon to approach and burst as it did, a terrifying storm in all its fury.

The departure of Ulloa filled the Louisianians with exultation. Mutual congratulations were many; many the toast drunk over the happy event. The yoke of Spain had been thrown off; a revolution accomplished without bloodshed. Now that Louisiana was in a sense free, surely France would

heed the further importuning of her far-off, would-be subjects and again take them into her fold. Again were resolutions and memorial drawn up, condemning in severe terms Ulloa's conduct, justifying the edict of expulsion which the Superior Council had passed, and protesting further loyalty to France. Le Sassier, member of the Superior Council, was message-bearer this time. But he, too, failed to reach the King's presence, though his petition was spread broadcast in Paris. He had not long to wait for his answer, however. He was told peremptorily that the colony must submit to Spain, and that Spain would never relinquish possession of it.

Now was the time for Louisiana insurgents to ponder over what they had done. Soon it began to dawn upon them that the laurels of successful revolution which they had been wearing might have to be replaced by the weeping willows of unsuccessful rebellion. No, it was not Spain they had opposed. Oh no! It was the trickster Ulloa who had played fast and loose, both with them and with his master. In nothing they had done were they to be dealt with as Spanish subjects. They were French, *French*, FRENCH. Of course, under proper circumstances they were perfectly willing to bend the knee in obeisance to the quite-beautiful flag of Spain. Such were the thoughts of the weaker ones —the ones who were to escape notice and consequences. The strong men of the colony stood upon principle, justified their conduct by the law

of nations, had no apologies to offer and in the end met their fate with thrill-inspiring manhood,—first political victims upon the altar of American liberty.

Let us not forget that at the time Patrick Henry in Virginia was denouncing "taxation without representation," Lafrénière in far-off Louisiana was publicly proclaiming "the right of the people to decide any act touching their welfare"; was asserting, "Parliaments and Superior Councils are the depositories of the laws under whose sanction the people may live in happiness; they are the natural protectors by law of honest citizens,"—thus giving rudimentary expression to the principle of local self-government which means so much to modern life and re-stating its correlative: Government exists by right of common consent, and laws to be binding must be passed by law-making bodies, representative of the people who must live under the laws so made.

CHAPTER TEN

SPAIN'S BLUDGEON FALLS

ULLOA'S report was followed by prompt action upon the part of the Spanish Ministry. It was decided that Louisiana must be held at all costs; the rebellion suppressed; and the ringleaders brought to punishment.

Don Alexander O'Reilly was selected as the instrument of vengeance. He was of Irish birth, as his name indicates, a Catholic refugee from his own land, a soldier of fortune who had found opportunity for congenial service in Spain where he had risen to high rank in the Spanish army, both on his own merits and by special favor of the King, whose life at one time he was fortunate enough to save under circumstances calling for the greatest coolness and courage. He had been created a Count in recognition of his military services. His breast glittered with many orders conferred upon him. At the time of his landing in Louisiana he was forty-seven years old.

O'Reilly was of different type from Ulloa. No hesitant scholar was he, but a man of prompt decision and rapid action. The velvet of a courtly

manner veneered the steel of his cold intent. His suavity was a mask that successfully hid all menace. His natural charm and conciliatory manners gave no indication of the sternness with which he could act when called upon to deal with the enemies of his King. A task had been given him and he proceeded to its accomplishment with a directness and efficiency commendable to those who justify his course.

Dreams of a rudimentary republic were beginning to take dim shape in the minds of the Louisiana revolutionists as the hope to be again taken into the French fold faded out. From these dreams they were suddenly awakened by the news that a large Spanish fleet with a powerful force had arrived at the mouth of the river. Violent commotion ensued. Some were for submission, some for resistance. Fire-eater Pierre Marquis and a contingent of the more courageous put on white cockades, armed themselves and paraded up and down shouting defiance. Aubry called Lafrénière and other leaders into council, convinced them of the superior force of the Spaniards, and persuaded them that the security of the colony and the safety of themselves lay in submission. The revolt was called off. A delegation went down the river to O'Reilly, made their tenders of fealty, were received with cordiality, partook of a good dinner with the urbane commander and returned to the city reassured.

On August 18, 1769, the Spanish fleet anchored

abreast of New Orleans. Now was pomp and ceremony indeed to be observed. Aubry drew up the French troops along one side of the *Place d'Armes*. Three thousand picked troops, fully armed, in glittering uniform landed and lined up along the other three sides. Aubry and O'Reilly advanced from opposite directions to the center of the square. The Spanish commander presented his credentials and instructed Aubry to read and translate them to the onlookers. Profound silence greeted the reading. The ceremony of absolving the people from their allegiance to France, the declaration that they were thenceforth subjects of Spain, the lowering of the French flag and running up the Spanish, accompanied by salutes, followed. The officers then repaired to the church, on the site of the present Cathedral, where a *Te Deum* was sung. An imposing parade of the splendidly disciplined and equipped troops, calculated to inspire awe and obedience, completed the ceremonies of the day.

O'Reilly called upon the late acting Governor to furnish a full account of the expulsion of Ulloa. With characteristic sycophancy Aubry more than complied with the request. His report was virtually an indictment drawn up with such skill as only a prosecuting attorney might have employed. Individuals and specific offenses were singled out. Much of the blame for cruelty subsequently ascribed to O'Reilly should be borne by Aubry, for this apparent cruelty was without malice as far as O'Reilly was concerned. A newcomer to the col-

ony, he could only act upon information furnished him by such reports as Ulloa's and Aubry's. Upon these and the instructions he had received, it was his conviction that a terrifying example had to be made to insure the future good behavior of the colonists and make his work of reorganization endure.

The arrest of the ringleaders followed closely upon the submission of Aubry's report. Here O'Reilly showed a refinement of method quite at variance with that usually employed in bringing offenders to justice. Instead of hunting them out of their habitations and marching them shackled through the streets, a spectacle to arouse the sympathy, and perhaps the violence of the onlookers, he sent them special invitations to a levee or reception to which many others had been asked. All but one responded—Joseph Villeré, who, in all the disturbances, had led the German and Acadian contingents from the upper coast to New Orleans to sustain the local leaders of the revolt. A premonition caused him to leave the city, to which he was shortly afterward lured back by further assurances of Aubry, only to be arrested at the city's gate.

As the guests arrived, each marked man was invited to a private apartment as if distinguished honor was thus being paid him. Here two soldiers stepped forward, took charge of him and marched him off, either to the Barracks or to temporary prisons on ships in the harbor. The surprise was so astounding as to give rise to general consterna-

tion which was soon dissipated by O'Reilly, who issued a reassuring proclamation granting amnesty to all except the arrested leaders, a fair trial of whom was assured. This trial promptly followed with punctilious regard for every form of legal procedure governing such cases. The charge was *lèse majesté.* The law to determine the truth or falsity of the charge was to be that of Spain. The penalty prescribed, if guilty, was death and confiscation of property.

The defense maintained at the trial that Ulloa, not having exhibited his commission as Governor nor performed, himself, one act of executive authority, Louisiana had not come under Spain's jurisdiction when the alleged offenses were committed; that the defendants had never been formally absolved of their fealty to France, had never taken any oath of allegiance to Spain and were therefore French subjects up to the time they might so do. They, therefore, could not have committed offenses against the Spanish crown.

The reply to this defense was that Louisiana was Spain's since the treaty of 1763; that the King of France had so notified them formally through their Governor, d'Abbadie; that Ulloa had exhibited his credentials to Aubry the official representative of France in the colony, on the latter's visit to the former at the mouth of the river, whether the defendants knew it or not; and finally, that Ulloa had paid all the expenses of the colony from the time of his arrival to his departure, as defendants well

knew, and this alone was sufficient evidence of Spain's ownership and jurisdiction at the time.

The verdict was "guilty." Sentence was pronounced one day and executed the next. Let the names of the condemned be noted as of the best and most honored blood in the colony; as martyrs of a cause like unto that for which all English America was struggling,—shedding their blood before Alamance and Lexington were fought, voicing their ideas of independence before either the Declaration of Mecklenburg, or that of Jefferson's went on record.

Condemned "to be led to the gallows on asses, with cords about their necks; to be hanged until dead, and to remain hanging until otherwise ordered," were the Sieurs Nicholas Chauvin de Lafrénière, Jean-Baptiste Noyan, Pierre Caresse, Pierre Marquis and Joseph Milhet. Condemned to life imprisonment was Joseph Petit; to ten years, Balthazar Masan and Julien Jerome Doucet; to six years, Hardy de Boisblanc, Jean Milhet—messenger of the first memorial to King Louis—and Pierre Poupet. Joseph Villeré had been killed in altercation with his guard shortly after arrest, so the Court could only condemn his memory, consigning it to an obloquy from which it was promptly rescued by public opinion and afterwards reinstated to honor by the judgment of posterity. The property of all was confiscated. All publications, memorials, and papers connected with the revolution were ordered collected and publicly burned.

As there was no public executioner in the province and as no one could be prevailed upon to perform the unholy function of hangman, the condemned men were lined up and shot, the victims going to their death with sublime fortitude and courage, Lafrénière himself giving the signal to shoot. "With the last volley of Spanish bullets, ended forever the last valid assertion of France to the vast country for which so many of her heroes had given their lives to win for her and to retain, even in spite of her own blinded councils."[1]

Within a month of the death of these brave compatriots whom he had betrayed, Aubry in fear of his precious person, made a hurried exit from the colony, embarking for France on the ship *Père de Famille*. His luggage was chiefly gold and silver coin which, as it could not have been earned, must have been blackmailed and extorted during the troublous and threatening period. He was not to enjoy his ill-gotten wealth, however, for the vessel, as it drew near the French coast, encountered a storm and foundered. Aubry and all on board but five of the crew perished.

[1] Phelps, *Louisiana*, p. 125.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE DON ESTABLISHES HIS DOMINION

LOUISIANA, as a French colony, had from the first been loosely governed by a Superior Council of which the Governor was a member. O'Reilly abolished the Council and instituted a government based upon the system prevailing in other colonial possessions of Spain. As the government thus established held jurisdiction in the northern as well as the southern part of the Valley it is interesting to note some of its provisions.

The Chief executive officers were a *Governor*, a *Captain-General* who resided in Cuba, and an *Intendant*. The Governor was vested with both military and civil powers. He had a secretary and was legally advised by an *Auditor of War* who also performed the functions of an Assessor. The Intendant administered the revenues and determined all matters bearing upon trade, commerce and foreign relations. He, too, had his secretary and his legal adviser was the *Auditor of the Intendancy*. Besides these there were the *Contador* or Comptroller, Commissaries, Surveyors, Official Interpreters, a Port Captain, several notaries, and other

sub-officers. Such of these minor officers whose salary was less than three hundred dollars per annum were appointed by the Governor; those above, by the Crown.

Each outlying Parish, post or district, had a commandant with civil, military, notarial and judiciary powers in civil cases where the amount at issue was twenty dollars or less. In the more important cases his duty was to take the depositions in writing and forward them to the Governor who, in turn, referred them to the proper courts. Thus for the period of the Spanish régime in the Mississippi Valley, Upper Louisiana, though governed locally by an official Lieutenant-Governor, was really administered in its larger affairs from New Orleans. Many land grants in the Missouri section which had been made by the Commandants of the districts, or by the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana, were afterwards declared null and void, simply because they had not been approved at New Orleans by the higher authorities of the whole Province.

The old Superior Council was replaced by a *Cabildo*, consisting of six *Regidors*, who performed such legislative functions as were vested in the colony; two ordinary Alcaldes, an *Attorney-General-Syndic*, and a *Clerk*. One of the Regidors was designated, *Alferez Real*—Royal Standard Bearer—an office more honorary than active. A second was the *Alcalde Provincial* who supervised the regulations for the "Parishes" outside of New Orleans.

A third, was the *Alguazil* who acted as Mayor or Sheriff for the City of New Orleans. A fourth was the *Depositary General* and a fifth was *Receiver of Fines*. The Attorney-General-Syndic was not the prosecuting officer whose functions we have come later to associate with the name. He was a representative of the people, watchful of their rights, jealous of their interests, suggester of measures conserving their good, appearing in their behalf before the Cabildo, itself, as did Roman Tribunes of old.

The Cabildo elected the two ordinary Alcaldes to act as judges in civil and criminal cases arising in New Orleans. These had summary jurisdiction in minor cases but in important ones, appeal from their decisions could be made to the Cabildo in full session, who selected from their number two Regidors to sit with the Alcalde, rendering the original decision. It required the vote of both Regidors to reverse the Alcalde's decision; the vote of one affirmed it. Certain cases could be further appealed to the Captain-General in Cuba, then to the Royal Audience of Santo Domingo; finally to the Council of the Indies at Madrid.

The most stringent rules for the humane treatment of prisoners and for the hygienic regulations of prisons were imposed upon the Alcaldes, who once a week were required to visit the jails in person and liberate those incarcerated for debt or minor offenses, when justice or humanity required it. The whole system thus established was ad-

mirable in many of its features, "imbued with a spirit of humanity and Christianity highly creditable to the legislation of Spain." A curious provision was the act by which the perpetual Regidors were selected. The privilege of holding the office was put up at auction. The purchaser, at any time, could transfer the office to any "capable person" upon the payment of half of its appraised value. The office of Clerk of the Cabildo was also purchasable. The frankness of this feature of Spanish policy shines by comparison with some of the purchases of public offices which, with more or less reason, are believed to have characterized a number of our more modern political transactions.

All French laws in the colony were superseded by those based upon the *Recopilcion de los Indios*, a summary of which was published in French as the "Code O'Reilly" for the better information of the colonists. The change, however, was not an abrupt one, as there were many points of similarity between the French and the Spanish body of laws, both having their origin in the Roman. An exception was made, however, of the so-called "Black Code," which had been issued as a royal edict as far back as 1724 for the regulation of slaves who, at the time, were promising a preponderance in numbers over the whites and, who, being fresh from Africa, were still in the savage state.

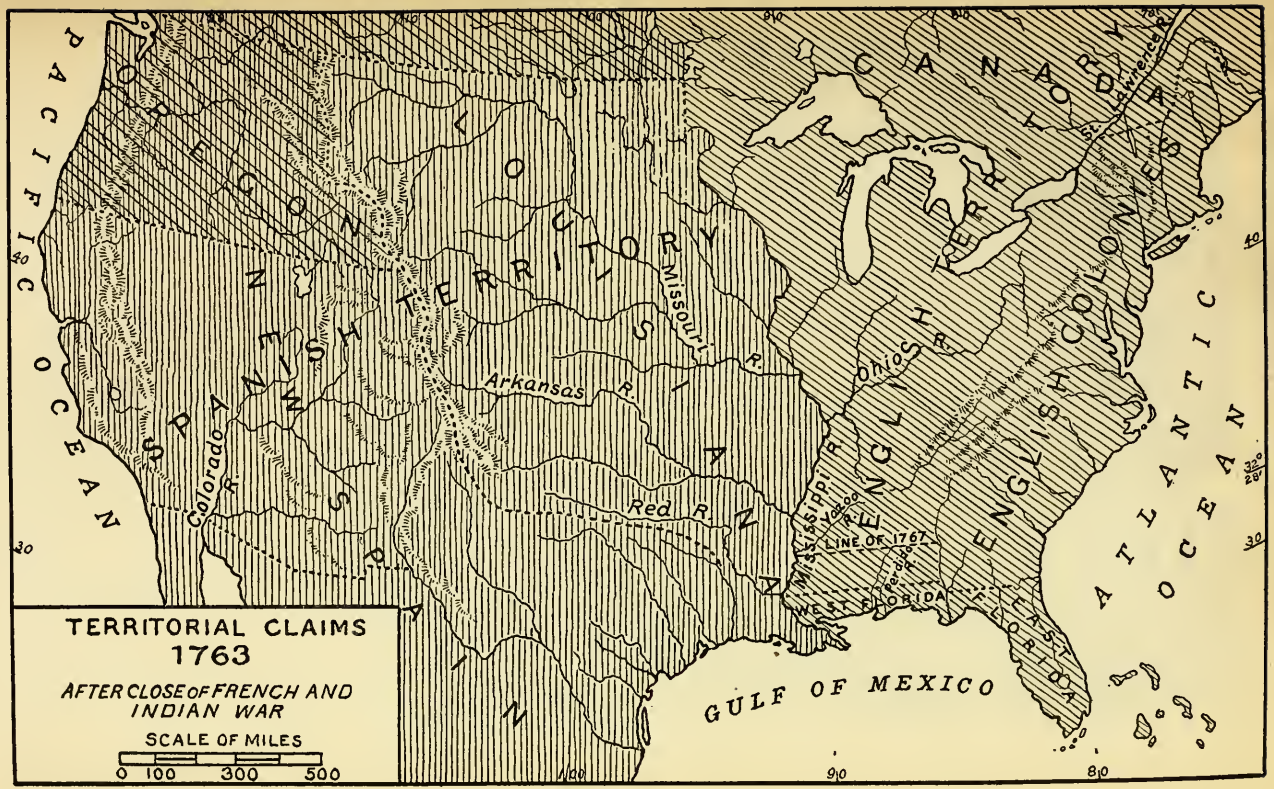
The Black Code was not a sinister but a humane body of laws, protecting slaves in their natural rights and at the same time safe-guarding the whites

against violence and uprisings. Under the code slaves could not carry weapons, assemble in crowds, sell any commodity without authority of their masters, acquire property, act as witnesses except in the absence of whites, or run away from their owners. To strike his master or steal a horse or cow—animals so valuable owing to their scarcity in the colony that no one, white or black, under penalty of death was permitted to wantonly maim or kill one—were capital offenses. On the other hand, forced marriages between slaves, concubinage between master and slave, the taking of slave children under fourteen years of age from their parents, the selling separately of husband and wife, were prohibited under heavy penalties. The master was alone responsible for any act committed by a slave under his orders. The care and support of slaves disabled by disease or age were compulsory on the master. Slaves converted to Christianity were entitled to burial in consecrated ground. Masters could not apply the rack or mutilate their slaves. A slave could appeal to the Attorney-General, or other officer of authority against the injustice or cruelty of his master, and, as complainant, have his cause prosecuted with the due legal form, free of all cost to him. The Code recognized and regulated slavery; the Spaniards continuing it in force, it operated in Upper Louisiana as well as Lower. This in part accounts for the migration of Southern slave-holders to the trans-Mississippi Missouri section during Spain's owner-

ship, when the ordinance of 1787 prohibiting slavery in the Northwest territory deflected them from the States bordering the Ohio.

With the crushing of the rebellion and the setting up of orderly government O'Reilly considered his task as Captain-General accomplished. Accordingly, at a meeting of the Cabildo on December 1st, 1769, he yielded his place to the titular governor, Don Luis de Unzaga. In the following year he took his departure for Spain, where soon after his return the jealous enmities he had aroused as recipient of the King's favor and the prejudice so often inspired when a foreigner is given precedence over native sons, combined to encompass his downfall. After the death of the King, Charles III, the gallant Irishman's sword rusted in retirement until 1794. Then it was realized that in all Spain there was no other military leader of such commanding genius sufficient to meet successfully the menace of Napoleon. He was called from his retirement, but it was his fate to die while on his way to the army, "his new-born hopes falling as ashes on his soldier-coffin."

Spain indeed was unusually happy in her choice of governors for the Louisiana colony. All were men of rank, breeding, courage and courtesy; all devoted themselves to the interests and well-being of the colony. They instituted delightful social functions and established polite intercourse, the true origin of that exquisite charm and refinement which, to this day, characterizes Creole society of



Territorial Changes Resulting from the Seven Years War between France and England for American Supremacy.

(Compare with map of 1755)

the higher type in New Orleans. Several took to themselves French wives, thereby cementing the bonds of popular affection more closely. Their names in succession following Ulloa and O'Reilly (who was Captain-General and not Governor as has been commonly assumed) were Don Luis de Unzaga, who went from Louisiana to be Captain-General of Caracas; Don Bernardo de Galvez, son of the Viceroy of Mexico and who, himself, by his great gifts and gallant deeds was to succeed his father to that high office; Don Estevan de Miro, who was Governor when vain effort was made to win the Ohio Valley to Spanish rule.[1] Francisco Louis Hector, Baron de Carondelet, who came from the governorship of Guatemala and afterwards went to the Presidency of the Royal Audience of Quito, Ecuador; Gayoso de Lemos, the hero of one of Louisiana's earliest pieces of fiction; the Marquis de Casa Calvo and Don Juan de Salcedo. The last two served during the waning of Spanish power and could do little else in the years of their combined administrations than prepare the way for the retrocession of the province to France preparatory to its purchase by the United States.

[1] See Chapter Eighteen.

PART IV

Valley Dominancy of the Dons

CHAPTER TWELVE

FIRST TRANS-MISSISSIPPI MIGRATIONS—UPPER SPANISH LOUISIANA

IN the Illinois district of upper Louisiana during the early period of its domination by France, there had been planted the six principal posts and settlements of Cahokia (Kaokia), St. Philippe, St. Anne, Fort Chartres, Kaskaskia and Prairie de Rocher, all near the Mississippi River below the latitude of St. Louis.

The fur trade and the search for possible silver mines induced the enterprising from time to time to cross from these settlements into what is now Missouri. Among those who thus ventured were Francis and Jean Baptiste Valle, brothers living at Fort Chartres, both successful Indian traders and noted in those parts for their bravery, honesty and kindly ways. They established in 1735 a post of their own, which in time became the town of St. Genevieve,—the oldest settlement in what is now the State of Missouri.

Among those who pioneered into this region with the brothers Valle were Jean Baptiste Maurice, Jacques Boyer, Henri Maurice, Parfant Dufour,

Louis Boiduc, Francis Coleman, B. N. James and J. B. T. Pratt. From the names of the last three it is seen that even at this early day English adventurers were insinuating themselves into the far western country, notwithstanding its possession by the French who were soon to take drastic steps to prevent further invasion.

When the possibilities of the region became better known, the firm of Maxent Laclede & Company of New Orleans was granted the exclusive privilege of trading with Indians on the Missouri River. Under leadership of the junior member of the firm, Pierre Laclede Ligueste, or Pierre Laclede, as he is better known, an expedition financed by the firm went up the Mississippi to Ste. Genevieve, crossed over to Fort Chartres and there went into winter quarters (1763–4). During the winter Laclede himself examined a number of sites and found a suitable one to which in the spring he sent Auguste Chouteau and a party of woodsmen who made a clearing and erected the necessary cabins for a post. A number of French familes moved over from Fort Chartres to the new settlement, which soon became a very flourishing one, the fur trade of the region tributary to it proving very profitable indeed.

The new town was called St. Louis, after the King of France. It stands to-day a monument to the pioneering enterprise of Laclede and Chouteau, both of whose names are potent enough to conjure with when the roll is called of those respon-

sible for the origin and growth of this great city,—a city which shares with that other beside Michigan's lake, the metropolitan honors of the Middle West.

The news of the treaty of Paris which gave Louisiana east of the Mississippi to England caused the French of the Illinois settlements almost as much concern as it did the French in the lower valley, when the latter learned that the same treaty gave New Orleans and Louisiana west of the Mississippi to Spain. To rebel against the proposed change was out of the question, however, as they and their compatriots of Canada had just been worsted in armed controversy with the English. On the other hand, to live under the jurisdiction of their conquerors was distasteful to many of them. The delay of Spain in taking possession of the trans-Mississippi region encouraged them in the hope that the proposed transfer might never be consummated, in which event they would then remain French subjects indefinitely, simply by moving to the other side of the Mississippi. Even if the transfer should be made, the banner of Spain was to be preferred to that of England, so, where the dissatisfaction of the lower Louisiana French took the form of revolt, that of the Illinois French took the form of exodus.

Many familes began to cross the river. St. Genevieve and St. Louis received large accessions to their population. The people of St. Philippe migrated almost in a body. Commandant St.

Ange de Bellerive tarried only long enough to formally surrender Fort Chartres, the *chef lieu* of the district, to Captain Sterling, the representative of General Gage, the English Commander-in-chief, who just then was very much engrossed in the ante-revolutionary demonstrations around Boston. The transfer accomplished (July 17, 1765) St. Ange, with his officers and troops at once removed to St. Louis, where, in the absence of other legally constituted authority, he acted as governor until relieved.

The first Spanish officer to reach the territory was Captain Francisco Rios, dispatched by Ulloa in 1767. The name of this officer is more closely associated with the establishment of the post of St. Charles on the Missouri River, which thenceforth was to share importance with St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve during the early period of Missouri's history, than with the exercise of any administrative authority.

Not until 1770 was formal possession taken for Spain, when Captain Pedro Piernas sent by O'Reilly arrived, confirmed the acts, land grants and decisions of St. Ange and assumed the duties of Lieutenant-Governor. The country, however, was Spanish only by jurisdiction and possession—French in all else. With the exception of officers and soldiers to represent authority, less than a dozen Spaniards took up their abode in upper Louisiana in the forty years it belonged to Spain.

The rule of the Spanish Lieutenant-Governors

in upper Louisiana was mild, surprisingly and gratefully so to the French. Following St. Ange and Piernas came Francisco Cruzat; Don Fernando de Leyba who died in office; then Cruzat again; Manuel Perez; Zenon Trudeau, and finally Charles Duhault de Lassus de Delusière, the last two being Frenchmen in the service of Spain. Spanish upper Louisiana, therefore, began with a French acting-governor and ended with one of French birth.

CHAPTER XIII

THE *HABITANS* OF THE UPPER VALLEY

BEFORE their removal to Missouri, the French of the Illinois settlements had made considerable progress. Their fur trade extended north to the Great Lakes, northwest to the headwaters of the Mississippi and for four hundred leagues up the Missouri. Their lead mines were productive; their "licks" were furnishing salt in commercial quantities; their success in agriculture was pronounced. Even the Indians near-by caught the spirit of industry from their French neighbors and produced larger and more varied crops.

Commerce and trade with New Orleans and Quebec had reached important proportions. As early as 1743 we find Marquis de Vaudreuil, then Governor of French Louisiana, reporting from New Orleans to his superiors in France upon the many boats that came from the Illinois Country. He describes their cargoes as including flour, corn, bacon, hams—both bear and hog—corned beef, pork, wild beef, wax of myrtle and of bee, tallow, leather, tobacco, lead, buffalo wool, venison, bear oil, furs and hides.

The shippers to Quebec or New Orleans received in return manufactured goods, articles of convenience and luxury, and trinkets adapted to the Indian trade. Merchandising except on a basis of exchange and barter was, for a long time, unknown. Each householder was a store keeper on a small scale, keeping his small stock of manufactured luxuries and conveniences in a trunk-like chest whose contents would be displayed whenever opportunity for a barter offered.

It was a comparatively easy matter for the French Illinoisian to make of himself a French Missourian. The distance over which he transported his belongings was not great. His industries were such as to be easily moved or taken up anew without loss. There was very little difference to him between old and new localities. He was not as firmly wedded to the soil as the Englishman would have been, if the latter had been the first occupant. The idea of individual ownership of land had not as yet taken root in his mind, for nothing so plentiful as land was, could be regarded by him as valuable. He used it as he did the air he breathed—what he needed; but as to fencing up a large tract, holding it in idleness, warning others to keep off and viewing through *meum-and-teum* glasses the landscape which God and nature had provided for him and his fellow man, he had yet to take his first lesson from English-speaking settlers.

This in reality is the secret of why the French,

as a rule, were regarded with such friendliness by the Indians. To both, ownership of land meant use. The Frenchman used a small portion for his crops; the Indian a large portion for his hunting, trapping, and bark stripping. A Frenchman who trapped and hunted shared title to the larger part. An Indian villager putting in a corn crop had exclusive title to the smaller part thus used. Each respected the right of the other; therefore, a mutual tolerance and a harmony of purpose.

Said a Shawnee chief in after years to General Harrison, "You call us your children! Why do you not make us happy as the French did our fathers? They never took from us our lands. These were common between us. If a poor Indian now attempts to take from a tree a little bark to cover him from rain, up jumps a white man to shoot him, claiming the tree as his own."

These French westerners lived by preference in compact villages, usually of one long narrow street with houses near enough together to permit of neighborly intercourse and of friendly, gossip-yielding oversight of one another. The land near-by was held in common for grazing and fuel-cutting purposes. Each villager, however, could have a portion allotted to him, should he desire to fence it in for cultivation. Their cabins, though as crude as the dwellings of the first English-speaking pioneers, were of different construction and of greater coziness. Instead of being built of solid logs "chinked" with mud, they usually consisted of a rough but

substantial frame-work with horizontal latticed strips well plastered with a mixture of hair or grass and clay. In fact, the primitive architecture of both French and Spanish, up and down the Mississippi Valley, seemed to run more to the plastered form of dwelling, primitive prototype of the more pretentious stuccoed buildings of a later day.

The French *habitans* were indeed a care-free people. A description of any one of their little communities applies to all. Here popular amusements, festivals, and holidays were enjoyed with a frequency which robbed life of all monotony. The young often indulged in dancing while priest and village patriarchs looked on complacently. Innocent frolics and recreations were sanctioned—almost blessed—by the church. The Sabbath was a day of pleasure as well as a day of religious observances. A young man departing upon a hunting or trading trip or upon the long voyage down the river to New Orleans was given a *bon voyage* feast before leaving and an almost public celebration upon his return.

Prisons, courts and lawyers were unknown. Fairness characterized business transactions; courtesy and politeness, social intercourse. The hold of the kindly priest upon each community lost no strength because of its gentle influence. His teachings and admonitions were heeded with an affectionate obedience. He taught them that to envy, to hate, to cheat, to injure were offenses against the good God and the church. When com-

mitted, the guilt must be purged from the heart and stricken from the soul's record by confession, prayer and penance.

Hospitality was the rule, religion the observance, toleration the practice. Betrothal and marriage were rites of almost sacrificial holiness. Obedience of children to parents, of wife to husband was the law of the household; but love, the law of the heart, was the stronger urge to obedience. Very quaint, indeed, was it to hear the young daughters of a family in the equality of their dawning womanhood, call their mother by her given name as if she were an elder sister, even reducing it to an affectionate diminutive. And if the mother were a widow with some of the charm and bloom of youth still clinging to her, what raillery and teasings and interchange of confidences and scrutiny of possible suitors for her hand! And when Youth and Age addressed each other, how much more of exquisite, heart-touching tenderness could be compressed into their *ma vielle* or *mes petites* than is ever put into the English "my old 'un" or "my little ones"! Truly these French of the Upper Valley were of sturdy, lovable, human pioneer stock whose descendants may well trace back to them with pride.

The early French pioneers to the Missouri section were soon joined by Americans, notwithstanding the fact that with Spanish domination established up and down the west bank of the Mississippi, that stream became a bar to future extension of territory westward on the part of either the

English colonies, when the bar was first placed, or their successors, the United States, when the bar was firmly fixed.

Not that this extension was any time sought or desired. Indeed the river served admirably as a natural boundary and a line of demarcation so definitely drawn was the best insurance against clashes when jurisdictional limits are less clearly defined. True, clashes were to arise in time but these were to be after Spain had added to her possessions much of the east bank along the lower reaches of the river where boundaries were indefinite enough to occasion diplomatic disputes. Further consideration will be given to this elsewhere.

While this bar of Spanish possessions operated against territorial expansion it did not prevent individuals from leaping over the barrier when prompted by the pioneer spirit. Indeed every encouragement was offered them to do so. Rich lands could be had either for the asking or upon payment of a pittance to cover the costs of validating titles. Opportunities to exploit natural resources such as mines and salt deposits, were many. Unlimited market for crops and unrestricted use of the Mississippi for commerce were potent attractions. It were well for Spain that her outlying possessions in upper Louisiana be settled by a people at one with her in antagonism towards things English. With England entrenched in Canada and in possession of the near-by posts of the northwest recently surrendered by the French the menace of

British invasion impended whenever the mother countries took opposite sides in European wars, a condition which at times was easily precipitated.

The idea of preparedness became more and more congenial to the Spanish mind. Every inducement was offered hardy westerners to become Spanish subjects. They were particularly welcome in the Missouri section. Even original trans-Alleghany pioneers responded to the lure, for many were driven to seek new locations when their preëmptive rights to lands which they had wrested from the original wilderness were shystered from them by the representatives of big grantee land companies or ignored by public land offices when these came to be established.

Among those who thus suffered was Daniel Boone. A grant of one thousand arpents of land—about eight hundred and forty-five acres—on the Missouri River, twenty-five miles above St. Charles, was sufficient inducement to him to become a Spanish subject. He was received with high favor, became duly naturalized in his new home and was appointed magistrate for his district. He was instrumental in moving one hundred Kentucky and Virginia families to Missouri, for which he received an additional grant of ten thousand arpents.

Another sufferer from failure to confirm him in the possession of lands whose titles were acquired by him originally from the Indians was George Morgan. He was a native of Pennsylvania, a graduate of Princeton and an Indian trader and land

speculator of twenty years' experience. He received from the Spanish Minister to the United States, Gardoqui, subject to the King's approval, a magnificent grant of twelve million acres fronting for three hundred miles on the Mississippi from the mouth of the St. Francis, northward.

Morgan selected New Madrid as the most promising site of the new town he proposed to found. Here in 1788, he laid out a city, four miles by two, with streets one hundred feet wide, building lots of half-acre size and attractive reservations for public buildings and parks. He then went down the river to New Orleans to obtain official confirmation of his grant, which Miro, who was Governor at the time, refused. Miro himself dispatched a garrison to New Madrid, built a fort and instituted a government which for some time was independent of the general one at St. Louis. French from Kaskaskia and Vincennes composed largely the first inhabitants of this post. The operations of Morgan in connection with New Madrid did much to draw pioneer attention to the trans-Mississippi region. Many of the second generation, following the example set by the first, hied themselves to the northwest, either because of their inherited migratory instinct or because of their belief that opportunity was there writ larger. This opportunity lay principally in the greater facilities for marketing products of the soil and chase, which trade and commerce along the Mississippi, already developed under the French régime, offered. In many an

isolated pioneer community in the region east of the Mississippi of that day, little surplus would be raised because of high cost of transporting it overland to where a sale might be made. As an old Kentucky pioneer explained his reason for moving to Missouri, in quaint fashion, "I got plum tired doin' nuthin' but growin' things in summer jes' to eat 'em up in the winter, the same thing over and over every year and gittin' nowhar."

These early migrants to the Missouri section had to pass over vast stretches of unoccupied territory before reaching their destination, for there was much of the wilderness to be won before the conquerors of the Mississippi Valley found themselves beating up against the breastworks of the Mississippi. Long before the frontier line was advanced to that stream another frontier line formed beyond it, which in its advance westward assumed the primacy when the two halves of the Valley came to be joined.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE COMING OF THE ACADIANS TO THE LOWER VALLEY

THE first immigrants into the lower part of Louisiana during the Spanish régime were also French. But how different the circumstances of their coming. Far back in 1713 the peace of Utrecht had given Acadia or Nova Scotia to England, since which time the English had never been able to make loyal and dependable subjects of the Acadians. These professed themselves to be French neutrals but, naturally, their sympathies were with their kindred in Canada and could not altogether be suppressed whenever conflict promised between France and England or between the colonies of these two nations.

At the outbreak of the old French War of 1755 it was decided to destroy the menace of their presence on English soil. The forceable removal of this people from their homes so touchingly described by Longfellow in his *Evangeline*, with greater or less accuracy, followed. It is estimated that at least thirteen hundred were shipped to Massachusetts and its dependency, the district

of Maine; four hundred and fifteen to Pennsylvania, while the remaining English colonies as far south as Georgia, received each its quota. A number were transported even to England, to make their way in time to France and from there back to such American possessions as remained to France.

These exiles wherever placed were penniless, miserable outcasts, feeling intensely the onus of their wrongs, grief stricken over their separation from loved ones—for little or no effort had been made to keep families together. Gayarré, Louisiana's eminent historian, in his classic narrative of the event, compares them to the Messenians of old whom the Spartans drove from bloody hearthstones and ancestral graves to wander pitifully over Greece.

Only intense hatred of the English could be the dominant urge of such a people wherever placed. The religious faith to which they gave almost idolatrous loyalty was regarded by some of the English colonial communities upon whom they were quartered, as almost heretical. They could no more be assimilated where they were or lose their racial identity amidst such surroundings than could the Jew who has ever individualized himself, whatever his environment.

To be where their language was common speech, where the breeze-stirred banner of France could again float over them, where they could toil in quiet beyond reach of the hated English became a dream, a longing, an obsession. Santo Domingo

and the French West Indies might possibly meet their desires. Some of them reached this island but found the climate objectionable and continued on to Louisiana as a land of greater promise. Gradually those who had been distributed along the Atlantic Coast seeped, journeyed in groups, voyaged in small colonies towards the lower Mississippi Valley, not knowing that this region had passed to Spain. Their English neighbors encouraged the emigration, aided them in the removal and speeded their departure, more to be rid of the public burden of their support than from motives of charity. It took them a long time to arrive at their destination but when they did arrive, they found home, friends and sympathy. In return they contributed to the conglomerate population of the lower Valley, a thrifty, intelligent, God-fearing, peace-loving element which has brought forth in its higher types, soldiers, jurists, statesmen and industrial leaders of whom any race, State or nation might well be proud.

The first little band of twenty landed on the levee front at New Orleans about the time the Louisianians were experiencing their first shock over the announcement that their country had passed to the dominion of Spain. These were the Pilgrims of the Acadian migration. Like those other Pilgrims who had landed a little less than a century and a half before on Plymouth Rock, forerunners of a Puritan migration to follow, this little band also had suffered persecution and exile, had

sought refuge in distant lands, had been called upon to face the unknown and were to win a permanent place for themselves in their new environment.

But what a pathetic little group, huddled together, uncertain of welcome, were these! What an ill-omen to the Louisiana Colony was their arrival! Did it not presage for Louisiana the fate of Acadie? Did it not augur similar expulsion and exile for the Louisianians? Were it not wise to take steps, however desperate, to avert such a calamity? Perhaps the tales told by this handful of refugees, of their miseries, griefs, separations and wanderings, did more than anything else to spur the Louisianians to take the stand they did against the depatriation ordained for them, a stand whose tragic outcome has already been narrated.

The Acadian migration to Louisiana began in earnest, February 8, 1765, with the arrival of two hundred and thirty by way of Santo Domingo. These were also in a comparatively destitute condition, the little money they had being Canadian and not current at the time in Louisiana. Their presence was embarrassing, the colonial treasury being then in too sore a strait to permit of any public appropriation for them. Private purses, however, were opened, to the credit of those who at the time were as poor in spirit as the Acadians were in pocket.

Among the Archives of the Louisiana Historical Society is a document, bearing date of April 4, 1765, that testifies to this private generosity. The

parties to the contract are Antoine Bernard Dauterive, former Captain of Infantry on one side, and nine chiefs of the Acadians whose names as given were Joseph Broussard, Alexander Broussard, Jean Baptiste Broussard, Victor Broussard, Joseph Beausoleil, Joseph Guillebau, Jean Duga, Olivier Thibaudeau and Pierre Arcenaud on the other side. The witnesses to the contract were Aubry, acting-governor; Foucault, Ordonateaur, and Lafrénière, Attorney-General. By its terms Captain Dauterive agreed to furnish to each Acadian family, for six successive years, one bull and five cows with calves. All risk of loss of cattle was to be his for the first year, he making up the loss when notified. At the end of the six years he was to receive back the same number of cattle of the same age and kind as the other parties to the contract had originally received from him. All increase and profits to be equally divided between him and the Acadian signers.

This was help, indeed, and the fact that the help so extended took this form, accounts perhaps for the settlement of these Acadians in the vast and unsurpassable grazing area of the southwest Louisiana of that early day. Here on the Attakapas (pronounced, tuck-a-paw) prairie, so named from the "man-eater" Indians originally inhabiting the locality, they made their homes and took up a life, chiefly pastoral. Sluggish streams traversed this prairie; small wooden clumps or *îles* dotted its surface as oases in a level desert. Along the eastern

edge of this region runs Bayou Teche, one of the most picturesque of streams, with its twin fringes of massive Druidical oaks, venerably bearded with long pendants of gray Spanish moss. Here was the old Post of the Opelousas, now one of the most distinctive and thriving cities of Louisiana; and the Post of the Attakapas, now the quaint and historic town of St. Martinsville, in the middle of one of whose principal streets stands to this day "Evangeline's Oak" where the prototype of Longfellow's heroine is supposed to have sat in saddened meditation over her elusive lover.

The Acadians were true pioneers in the Western sense. They were hardy survivors of disciplinary disasters that had eliminated many of the weak and unfit. They were a virile race and left progeny and descendants innumerable. The names of many families of south and southwest Louisiana and those beyond the Sabine in Texas indicate descent from the "Acadian Chiefs" whose names have been cited. A Broussard who served in Congress for sixteen years and subsequently in the U. S. Senate up to the time of his death was affectionately known all over his district as "Couzan Bob" (Cousin Bob) so numerous was his clan, descendants of these early cattle barons.

At intervals for a number of years there arrived other parties of Acadians until, it is estimated, more than four thousand took up their abode in Louisiana. Some sought the Attakapas country; others went to the section along the Lafourche, a

fork of the Mississippi, beginning where the city of Donaldsonville now stands. The river section below New Orleans, now constituting the Parish of Plaquemines, also received a quota. A party of two hundred and sixteen arriving direct from Halifax November 16, 1766, was sent up the river a short distance from New Orleans to Cahabanoce, or what is now the Parish of St. James. These gave significance to the term "Acadian Coast" as did Law's Alsatians to that of the "German Coast" just below St. James.[1]

[1] This group of Acadians have earned distinction in the industrial annals of the country as originators and sole manufacturers of genuine "perique" tobacco, an article known to and appreciated by connoisseurs the world over. An interesting side-light upon these Acadians, as well as upon those of the Attakapas country, is George W. Cable's celebrated novel, *Bonneventure.*

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

LIFE IN THE ATTAKAPAS COUNTRY

CONTRASTED with the Illinois French, who migrated to Spanish upper Louisiana, the Acadian French who pioneered to the lower portion appear quite different in their views and modes of life. They lived not in compact villages, but scattered. They were not a merry-making carefree people, for their tragic history was too fresh in mind. Saturnity and conservativeness set upon the older Acadian patriarchs; sensitiveness and aloofness upon the younger members of the clans. The injustice of which they had been victims seemed to inspire in them a stronger belief that justice should govern all dealings between man and man and between man and government. They had been so ill treated by those outside of their own race that the way to their confidence was very difficult of approach to the stranger. Confidence once won, however, there were no bounds to the loyalty of their friendship, or the hospitality of their homes, however humble.

Many of their descendants grew up illiterate—for the public school did not come to them until a

very late day—but at no time were they unlearned. They took their lessons from the books of nature and experience, applied what they learned there to the mastery of their surroundings, adjusted themselves successfully to their environment and reached a greater, more philosophic contentment with life as it was to be lived by them, than all the learning locked up in libraries could teach.

As time passed on, the social spirit that had been crushed out of them revived. The bruised root torn from the old soil took on fresh life in the new, giving sustenance to the fruitage of greater confidence in their fellow man, greater need of social intercourse. They became as fond of dancing as other members of their race. The distances between their abodes, living as they did so scattered, made attendance upon social gatherings difficult until they bred a famous strain of little wiry, fast-gaited ponies that took them untiringly over vast stretches of prairie.

When news went around, as if by some primitive wireless system, that a "gumbo" was to be given at a certain domicile on a certain night, the prairie horizon surrounding the place where the festivities were to be held would, during the afternoon, show many moving specks—guests converging to the gathering point. The night would be spent in dancing and in playing sundry games to folklore-like songs. The principal refreshment would be "gumbo," a thick, appetizing soup made of chicken and various meats, sometimes of crawfish, all

highly seasoned. Finely powdered bay leaves or okra pods gave it a mucilaginous consistency. Sometimes wild nuts candied with sugar cane syrup, in after years to be perfected into the characteristic Creole confection known as "pralines," would be an added delicacy.

In no part of the Middle West did the conditions of pioneer life and the characteristics to meet these conditions, survive to a later date, than in the Acadian section of southwestern Louisiana. Homespun, indigo-dyed cottonade, and beautifully designed woven bed-spreads whose patterns originated in the distant and forgotten past, were exhibited fresh from the hands of the weavers at the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. These came from the prairie and sea-marsh homes of southwestern Louisiana where yet were practiced all the arts, crafts and industries characteristic of life upon every frontier, where each household has to depend wholly upon its own efforts, ingenuity and acquired skill for whatever comforts and conveniences it may enjoy.

Among these survivals, growing fewer year by year as the newer pioneers from Iowa and other northern States arrived in numbers to dot the broad expanse of the Attakapas Country with homes, rice-farms, oil-fields, towns and cities, manners and customs and modes of life have remained practically unchanged for more than a hundred years.

Let us call, in spirit, with a writer who many

years ago visited the family of one of the most famous weavers of Acadian home-spun fabrics and who recorded his experiences in one of Louisiana's oldest newspapers. "Gliding over the dark waters of one of the many bayous that wind through the prairie, we reach a landing where 'Madame,' our prospective hostess, accompanied by the whole family, from the oldest to the youngest, is ready to greet us. Such chatter! Such torrents of talk! Such gestures, beautiful in their grace and eloquent suggestiveness!"

We make our way over green rolling fields specked with sleek cows, sheep, horses and goats. Our visit is *l'occasion* calling for rejoicing and celebration. It is one mile to the dwelling. We enter a front gate. The path leading up to the house is a lily-bordered avenue, the whiteness of whose blossoms fit refreshingly into the greenness of the landscape.

The "Cajun" housewife is first of all a home-maker. Her house is a temple of neatness and order. We enter and realize at once, here is hospitality almost Arabic in its completeness. We are addressed from the start as *Mon Ami* in such a way that we speculate upon how lonely they must have been all these years separated from us.

We are led through the house without embarrassment or hesitancy. Nowhere lurks a room in the slightest disorder. The furniture is of excellent design, some of it more than one hundred years old. There are four-posted beds, lace-draped

and homespun coverletted. Massive walnut *armoires* to take the place of clothes closets. The "bureaus" better known to us, perhaps, as "dressers" lack the usual implements of feminine vanity and adornment, but each holds a crucifix, sometimes a picture of the Blessed Virgin, always a rosary. Nun-like, cloister-suggesting absence of ornamentation seems to prevail in every room.

We are at once served, on a great waiter passed by a son of the house, *café noir*. The coffee made by the "Cajun" is a brew that stimulates the brain, quickens the imagination, loosens the tongue and makes one for the time quick-witted in repartee. How it is made is another question. It is to the "Cajun" what the cocktail was to the club man, before Prohibition deprived him of his stimulant. It is served in quantity tantalizingly small, about four tablespoons to the cup, but strong and of dye-like blackness. One remembers the magic brew for many a day.

Dinner is announced. The menu is: *Gumbo des Crévise* (Crawfish "gumbo"); *Cochon de Lait* (Roast sucking pig); *Du Pain Mais* (Corn bread); *Ris Jambalaya* (a mystery dish of rice flavored with all sorts of gravies and condiments); *Fricassé Champignons* (stewed wild mushroom); *Kush-Kush* (a typical "Cajun" dish made of fried yellow hominy); *Canard Farci* (Roast duck) and *Ambrosia* (a desert of chopped fruits). We are urged and urged to have *un tout petit morceau encore*—just a little bit more. We win the affection of our hostess by

repeated acceptances of her bounty. The larger our appetites, the greater her pleasure.

After the meal, we repair to the front *galerie* or porch; we are given comfortable rocking chairs; the family group themselves about us. The mother is the voluble one. We exchange questions, information, confidences. The children, big and little, hang on our words as if in expectancy of intellectual tidbits to be treasured up and mentally chewed over. Occasionally they whisper to an elder some question to be asked of us that curiosity or desire for information may have inspired.

We are fortunate "to have much French" but occasionally our language as laid down by the French Academy, has to be re-stated in "Cajun" idiom.

Our host throughout, sits imperturbably but impressively benign. His wife is the mouthpiece through which his spirit expresses its desire that we feel at home. As in other French households, the women dominate. His acquiescence to this condition of affairs was won from him generations before he was born. At times he gazes pensively over the broad expanse beyond the front gate, with its blue mists of distance topping the paling greens of the horizon. All is serene with him and yet one catches an expression of indefinable sadness when his features fall into repose. Is he heir to a race-memory on which is registered the sorrows of his forebears? Does it bring him blurred, un-

graspable waking-dreams of the grievous experiences of his exiled ancestors?

Before the close of the Spanish régime there were other French-speaking exiles to seek a refuge of obscurity on the borders of the trans-Mississippi frontier of lower Louisiana. These were of the nobility of France, driven in fear of death from their native country by the threats and horrors of the French Revolution. Spain being at peace with France, it was not incumbent upon her to harbor refugees escaping punishment intended to be meted out by the Revolutionary authorities constituting the then existing and sole government of France. The Spanish authorities at New Orleans winked at the arrival and presence of these refugees, however, permitting them to disappear to places unknown (!) before official action intentionally sluggish, could be taken. St. Martinsville received the greater number of these *émigrés*. These brought with them from Europe, as treasured possessions, much of the finery they had worn in a happier time when the French Court was at the zenith of its elegance. They imparted such character and quality to the population and to the social intercourse of the little community, that St. Martinsville came to be known by a second title of "Little Paris."

One of the fairest daughters of these *émigrés* is credited with having inspired a world industry that occasions woman much joy and man, the bill payer, much concern. It seems this young lady

was a great social favorite and of such exquisite taste in dress as to be patterned after by the other damsels of the town who aspired to a popularity similar to hers.

A youth passing on horseback before her dwelling prompted her to seize an opportunity to send a message by him. No head scarf being convenient and not wishing to suffer the effects of a glaring sun, she seized her brother's broad-brimmed home-spun palmetto-straw hat hanging conveniently nearby, jammed it on her head, and held it coquettishly by the brim bent down over her ears while she stood observed of all on the street and delivered the message.

Immediately the feminine mind of the community began to work. "*Mais*, that is the new style of headdress. Surely we must wear it to be in the fashion." The next Sunday in church every damsel in the town, except the young lady herself, had her brother's, or other male relative's, straw hat on jammed over her ears.

The originator at once caught the idea. If gentlemen wore hats, why not ladies? She procured a supply of straw, wove a hat of her own, decorated it with ribbons and sundry finery and appeared resplendent at church the next Sabbath. Sensation! Wild flutterings of the feminine heart! Prompt copyings of the divine model! The business of catering to the Easter parades held annually, not to mention the supplying of innumerable "loves" and "ducks" as applied to millinery,

started right there. A "Little Paris" hat made its way to New Orleans where it aroused enthusiasm. In time the idea reached the larger Paris of Europe, where immediately it sprang into popularity and was elaborated upon. How many millions of "creations" based upon this idea have since gone forth to the four points of the compass from this world center of style and fashion! How many more millions of imitations of these creations are put together annually in the shops and homes of civilized lands! Refer to paintings and illustrations showing woman's headgear of a hundred or more years ago and see how, when elaborateness is sought, it runs principally to *coiffure* or hair arrangement. If covering of any kind is shown, it is usually of stiff, simple outline and material or of a shawl- or scarf-like order. Compare these with woman's adornment of the present day. Study, in sorrow, depleted bank accounts drained in paying this tribute which feminine vanity exacts, then put the blame where it is said to belong —upon this little pioneer community on the southwestern frontier of one hundred and fifty or more years ago, nestled beside the still smooth waters of the slowly flowing Teche.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

THE VALLEY IN THE WAR OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

MENTION has already been made of the clash between England and France over territory in the Mississippi Valley, whose final outcome was England's gain. Let consideration now be given to a clash arising shortly thereafter between England and Spain, whose outcome as to England was not to result as fortunately.

It was during the fourth year of the war of the American Revolution and only ten years after formal possession of Louisiana had been taken by Spain that this last clash occurred, for it was in that year that Spain, in the hope of recovering the much coveted fortress of Gibraltar, decided to join with her neighbor, France, in aiding the rebelling Americans in their war upon England.

While Spain, in this war, did not take as conspicuous a part as did France in either land or naval operations along the Atlantic seaboard, yet she did her part effectively in crippling the power of England in America. This part was played principally in the Mississippi Valley, where not

only military campaigns were undertaken, but much needed supplies and munitions were collected at New Orleans and forwarded to the Americans by way of Pittsburgh.

Before Spain entered the war, however, the Americans had undertaken some operations of their own in the Valley. These were directed to the northwest or Illinois-Indiana section as well as to the southwest or West Florida section.

The northwest section, claimed by Virginia, was in possession of the British and was ruled from Canada. Around the forts and posts still lived French *habitans*, that had not joined the exodus to Missouri. With war declared, the British garrisons of these posts were a menace to the frontier settlements of Kentucky. This menace became a positive danger when Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton of Canada began to encourage and subsidize foraging parties of Indians, promising a bounty for every scalp secured. Kentucky being at that time a "District" of Virginia, it was incumbent upon the latter to protect its own.

Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia commissioned George Rogers Clark, a well-known young and courageous backwoodsman, to organize the "Long Knives," as the frontier men of Kentucky were called, and lead an expedition into the Northwest.

Avoiding the river route where his movements could be easily watched and possibly forestalled, Clark marched across the country, and took Kas-

kaskia by surprise so complete that no resistance was offered. The joyous festivities of a "dance" in progress at the time of Clark's arrival were turned to a sudden panic. The French villagers could but expect the bloody consequences that usually accompanied the incident of capture in border warfare. Father Gibault, the loyal priest, appeared before Clark to plead for leniency towards his people and greatly to his surprise was assured that the Americans were not butchers of the helpless but had come as friends of the *habitans* to relieve them of the British yoke. The French received the assurance with great relief and rejoicings. The news of the kindly attitude of the Americans spread to the other Illinois settlements. When Clark proceeded to the attack of Cahokia, he was met with greetings, instead of bullets. He found Fort Chartres, at one time described as "the best built fort in North America," deserted and in ruins. Without losing a man he had thus made himself master of all the Illinois posts.

The French at once enlisted thenselves in the work of winning the Indians away from British influences. Clark held powwows in the vicinity of Cahokia, where many Indians had gathered in council. He succeeded in signing up many of the chiefs in treaties assuring either their neutrality or their allegiance to the Americans. He organized several companies of local militia, established civil government, constituted the settlements into the County of Illinois of the State of Virginia and ap-

pointed Captain John Todd, a Virginian serving in Clark's little army, as governor.

Meanwhile, Father Gibault and a small party of leading Kaskaskians had made their way eastward to the settlements on the Wabash, where they persuaded the *habitans* to offer no opposition to the Americans. The commander at Vincennes had lately gone to Detroit, leaving the post in a comparatively defenseless state. The people of the post, at Father Gibault's suggestion, took matters in hand for themselves, swore allegiance to Virginia, and, as Clark expressed it, "began to act as freemen."

When Father Gibault returned with the good news, Clark dispatched Captain Leonard Helm with one soldier to take charge of the post. This garrison of two was what opposed General Hamilton upon his return from Canada with a formidable force to regain Vincennes. With characteristic "bluff" Helm exacted of Hamilton, who was ignorant of the ridiculously small number opposed to him, a concession of "the honors of war" and "safe conduct through the enemy's lines" before surrendering.

While in the Illinois Country, Clark was fortunate enough to enlist the friendship of Don Francisco Vigo, a wealthy Spanish trader of St. Louis, with whose financial support he was enabled to set out immediately to the recapture of Vincennes, an undertaking which Hamilton felt sure the American would not even dream of doing, owing

to the lateness of the season, the unfavorable weather conditions and the impassableness of routes of travel. So firmly fixed was this belief that he sent back a large part of his force to their winter quarters in Canada.

Clark and his men accomplished the almost impossible, waded through swamps, went days without food, arrived unexpectedly, and after a sharp engagement forced Hamilton to surrender, sending the "Hair Buyer" a prisoner to Williamsburg, the seat of government of Virginia. With the fall of Vincennes Clark's mission was accomplished. He had won for Virginia by conquest that which was hers by original charter,—the great area which, as the Northwest Territory, she was unselfishly to present to the government of the United States to the end that harmony among the constituent States might prevail.

It will be remembered that the British by the treaty of 1763 had been put in possession of West Florida, which extended to the Mississippi River and adjoined on the north the Spanish island of New Orleans. The narrow, partly-clogged-up Bayou Manchac, otherwise known as the Iberville River, connecting the Mississippi and Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, separated the two possessions.

At first the northern boundary line of British West Florida was fixed at the thirty-first parallel of latitude. The southern half of what is now Mississippi and Alabama, down to this line, was

presumably a part of the original Georgia grant and, like other westward extending territorial claims of the seaboard colonies, had been confirmed by England's victory in the war by which the east half of the Mississippi Valley had been wrested from France.

But the capital of Georgia was too distant for the proper governmental administration of this region, so it was annexed to West Florida, making the latter's northern limits extend to a line drawn from the mouth of the Yazoo River due east to the Chattahoochee. This brought the long settled section around Natchez within the jurisdiction of Pensacola, the capital of West Florida.

When the Americans awoke to the fact that there were fourteen English colonies in America instead of thirteen, and that the fourteenth, West Florida, controlling as it did a long stretch of the Mississippi River, was in position, if it remained loyal to England, to cut off needed supplies coming up the river from New Orleans, it appeared to them a matter of importance to win West Florida to the Patriot cause, or take steps to forestall any possible hostile action upon its part.

It is to be regretted that the Continental Congress chose for the purpose the instrument it did in the person of James Willing, who, from all accounts, was an adventurer of brutal instincts, masked by a gentlemanly bearing.

"Willing," says Martin, the Louisiana historian, "visited the British settlements on the Mississippi and some of his

companions crossed over to Mobile, with a view to induce its inhabitants to raise the striped banner and join their countrymen in the struggle for freedom. The people of both the Floridas decided to remain steadfast to the royal cause . . . the thin and sparse population of the Floridas, their distance from the provinces engaged in war and the consequent difficulty of receiving assistance, had its influence on the conduct of the inhabitants."

Willing was hospitably entertained at Baton Rouge, Natchez and other points visited. No one suspected that a plot against his entertainers was shaping itself in his mind. He returned to Pennsylvania and made overdrawn representations to Congress, then sitting at Lancaster. He so impressed them with the idea that danger to the American cause lurked in the southwest, that he was vested with authority to meet the danger by securing the neutrality of the West Floridians.

Returning to Natchez with an armed retinue, he at first proceeded to carry out the instructions given him. He found it no difficult matter to prevail upon many to take the oath of neutrality. But the opportunity for loot could not be renounced by so greedy an adventurer. Upon one pretext or another, he entered upon a career of confiscation, robbery and cruelty. The very homes in which he had been graciously entertained as an honored guest during his previous visit were the greatest sufferers from his depredations. Many unfortunates, bereft of their all, were forced to take refuge across the river among the unfriendly but more

humane Louisianians. But for his wanton, unprovoked outrages upon the helpless non-combatants and upon peacefully inclined communities, West Florida might have been won to the American cause, the Governor and garrison at Pensacola being too far away to interpose any active opposition to such a move. As the Carolinas to the east had their Bloody Tarleton to ignore the usages of civilized warfare, so West Florida in the lower Valley had its "Brute Willing" to garb himself in the cloak of patriotism as a studied excuse for license and crime.

In connection with the supplies that went up the river from New Orleans to the Americans there appears upon the scene an interesting personality in the merchant and financier, Oliver Pollock, whose part in the war of the American Revolution has received the ungrateful award of unmerited obscurity. Pollock was a native of Ireland, a resident first of Carlisle, Pa., to which his father had migrated, then of Havana, Cuba, where he mastered the Spanish language, engaged in mercantile pursuits and attained remarkable success. During his residence in the Cuban capital, a warm personal friendship sprang up between himself and that other brilliant Spaniard of Hibernian origin, Captain-General O'Reilly.

When O'Reilly was sent to New Orleans to establish Spanish authority over Louisiana, Pollock followed. Here he soon made a place for himself in the esteem of the authorities and in the affections

of the people; for upon one occasion, when famine threatened the colony, owing practically to the suspension of commerce during the Ulloa troubles, Pollock happened to have a ship load of flour, newly-arrived. Instead of taking advantage of the situation and reaping the large profits which the monopoly of a necessity would have assured him, he generously and voluntarily placed the whole shipment at the disposal of the Governor, to be distributed at ordinary and reasonable prices. For this he was so commended to the King that he received a number of marks of favor. Among these were special trade privileges and duty-exemptions.

Pollock became the intimate friend and adviser of both Governor Unzaga and the latter's successor, Governor Galvez. Strongly siding with the American Revolutionists, he was in position to aid them effectively. His fame as a financier and well-wisher of the Patriot cause reached Philadelphia. The Continental Congress appointed him its Commercial Agent at New Orleans. The Governor of Virginia, Patrick Henry, also appointed him special agent for that colony. In connection with this latter appointment, Pollock was principally responsible for the financing of the George Rogers Clark Expedition. Without the services of this "Robert Morris of the West" in this respect Clark's brilliant enterprise, which resulted in driving the British from Virginia's northwest territory, could never have been successfully launched or carried out.

From his own resources and from the pledging of his personal credit, it is said, Pollock raised in all about $300,000 for the government of the Continental Congress and for that of Virginia. In the course of time delay in requiting him led to his financial embarrassment and to his imprisonment at Havana for debt. His friend, Galvez, promoted to the high office of Governor-General of Cuba and Louisiana, upon arrival at Havana, promptly liberated him, vouching for his integrity and good faith.

Promptly upon his release, Pollock courageously took up the uphill work of resuscitating his depleted fortune. Evey debt for which he had stood responsible was paid off before he retired to private life. He died at an advanced age at Pinckneyville, Mississippi, December 17, 1823. The sacrifices he had made for the cause of American Independence were almost forgotten at the time of his death. Scant were the honors paid him, save the eulogies of those who knew him well. In the annals of the war of the American Revolution his name should find place beside that other sufferer from the proverbial ingratitude of republics—Philadelphia's great patriotic financier, with whom he has often been compared.

With the entrance of Spain into the war, the British turned what little attention they could distract from their rebelling subjects to the seizure of upper Spanish Louisiana. By reinforcing Fort Bute at Manchac, Fort Charlotte at Mobile and

Fort St. George at Pensacola and by placing a strong force at Baton Rouge they felt secure in the lower Valley. They planned to advance upon upper Louisiana from two directions. General Campbell at Pensacola was to send a force up the river from the Floridas with whom General Sinclair and a force from Michilimackinac were to coöperate.

The expedition despatched by Sinclair, consisting of some fifteen hundred Indians with a small contingent of soldiers, made its way to the east bank of the Mississippi River above St. Louis. Some of the Indians under Ducharme, a French fur trader, whose enmity the Spanish authorities had incurred two years previously, crossed the river and surprised, with more or less success, the workers in outlying fields around St. Louis. Reinforced, the party moved to its main attack upon the settlement itself but was repelled by the inhabitants under the gallant leadership of Pierre and August Chouteau. Withsuddenness unaccountable at the time, the attackers disappeared and returned post-haste to Canada.

The next year (1781), partly in retaliation and partly to establish a territorial claim by conquest, Governor Cruzat despatched a force under Don Eugenio Pouré with Don Charles Tyon as second in command and Don Louis Chevalier as chief interpreter, to attack the British post at St. Joseph, Michigan. This expedition was eminently successful. The fort was destroyed, its supplies distributed among the friendly Indians coöperating

with the expedition, and the fort's flag brought to St. Louis as a memento of victory.

Meanwhile, the British in the lower Valley found themselves on the defensive to such an extent that Campbell could not give the promised coöperation as planned to Sinclair. When Spain espoused the cause of the Americans, Don Bernardo de Galvez was Governor of Louisiana. He was but a youth in years but was possessed of qualities which even age and experience cannot impart—intrepidity and genius. As soon as Spain declared war, he took upon himself the conquest of West Florida, nearby. With a force of fourteen hundred men he marched northward from New Orleans, stormed and captured Fort Bute at the crossing of Bayou Manchac, and advancing farther compelled the surrender of Baton Rouge with its garrison of five hundred men, after a spirited engagement. A part of his command then went up the river and occupied Fort Panmure, near Natchez. His next undertaking was against Mobile, which surrendered March 14, 1780. News of these successes was what probably caused the sudden retreat of the British and Indians from upper Louisiana after the attack on St. Louis.

It is needless to say that the achievements of Galvez were viewed with great satisfaction, both in America and Spain. General Washington sent a letter of congratulation from his winter quarters at Morristown. Spain extended every encouragement to the young commander to complete the con-

quest he had begun. He gathered a force of ships and men at Havana and set out to attack Pensacola. Here he was joined by Miró from New Orleans and by Espeleta from Mobile.

The British at this point were much better prepared for resistance than they had been at Baton Rouge and Mobile. The personal bravery and initiative of Galvez were the deciding factors in the operations that followed. After a siege of several weeks, he forced the capitulation of the garrison of Fort St. George and the surrender of Pensacola itself. With the fall of this last English stronghold on the Gulf, the Floridas, both east and west, became, by right of conquest, Spanish territory again. The treaty of 1783, terminating the war of the American Revolution, confirmed this right. Once more Spain held by occupancy and possession much of what had once been hers by the discoveries and explorations of De Soto.

Many honors were bestowed upon Galvez in reward for his brilliant services. He was commissioned Lieutenant-General, decorated with the cross of Knight Pensioner and created a count. He was appointed Captain-General of Louisiana and of the Floridas; Governor-General of Cuba, Louisiana and the Floridas, and, finally, Viceroy of Mexico. With a record achieved by few of his years, he died at the early age of thirty-eight.

The military operations of Spain in the Valley

during the war of the American Revolution, while of interest as constituting a picturesque phase of the Valley's history, have not received much emphasis at the hands of historians. In this it is believed an error has been made, for in the light of subsequent developments and of certain events occurring during the fifteen or more years following this war, the successful expedition to St. Joseph, Michigan, and the acquirement of so large a section of the lower Valley as West Florida then was, became of large significance. There is little doubt but that these two achievements set the Spanish mind to thinking of the possibility of acquiring possession of the whole eastern half of the Valley, of making the eastern limits of Spanish Louisiana what they had been when Louisiana was French—the Appalachian Mountains. The southern half of what is now Mississippi and Alabama already under the Spanish flag, their northern half an unsettled wilderness, ownership of which might still be determined by Indian treaty, the settlers of Tennessee and Kentucky possibly to be won over by bribe and blandishments, the French, still a strong element in the Illinois Country, already favorable to Spanish rule in the upper Valley—all contributed elements out of which was assembled a visualization of extended Spanish dominion. Intrigue and diplomacy immediately began where military conquest left off. When Spain's jurisdiction leaped the bounds of the Mississippi and Manchac Rivers, a natural barrier was obliterated and an artificial

Territorial Changes Resulting from the War of the American Revolution

(Compare with the map of 1763)

one created, carrying with it the inevitable threat that, possibly, might and cunning might be measured against right and justice whenever final adjustment should come to be made.

II

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

SPANISH INTRIGUE AND WESTERN UNREST

WITH West Florida won to Spanish dominion as one of the results of the war of the American Revolution, Spain's bar of possession, originally drawn down the Mississippi Valley from north to south, became bent to the form of a right angle, with apex resting upon the junction of the Yazoo and Mississippi Rivers and with arms extending to the north and east as yawning jaws ready to close down upon the rich valleys of the Ohio and its tributaries.

Let it not be supposed that Spain took up arms against Great Britain in this war through any real friendship for the Americans. However disposed the Spanish authorities at New Orleans may have been to coöperate unofficially with the American commissioner to permit munitions of war to be collected and sent forward up the river to Pittsburgh, the attitude of Spain herself was far from cordial or conciliatory. It was really to her interest that the war be prolonged as much as possible for the greater weakening it would bring to her enemy, England. To that end she was little dis-

posed to acknowledge the independence of the revolting colonies, though warring on their side. Had she done so with due promptness, the war might have formally ended by treaty, as it did in fact, two years before the treaty was finally signed.

The motive actuating Spain in the matter, beside the hope of wresting Gibraltar from England, should the latter be sufficiently enfeebled, was to possess herself of the territory drained by the Ohio and its tributaries which, under the "Quebec Act," England had taken to herself as against all claims to the region held by the several colonies having charter rights thereto. Being English territory, it was subject to conquest or to disposal by treaty and hence might well fall to Spain when the final adjustments ending the war came to be made. But the hopes of the Dons in this respect failed of realization, for by the terms of the treaty, the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi became the property of the United States,—then a loose confederation of States, and not the stronger Federal Union that now exists.

Meanwhile, the territory south of the Ohio had been filling up with a pioneer people, battle-tried and danger-tempered to the point of effective resistance, a people whose powers and ability to hold their own against invasion exacted a profound respect from all who had ever come in contact with them. Wise were it to hesitate before entering into armed conflict with them. Better were it to wean them from their present allegiance, to induce

them to withdraw from a government too weak and too remote either to protect them or to conserve their best interests, to instill in their minds a conviction that these interests could best be promoted by becoming one with the rest of the Valley already under Spanish control. To influence individuals by bribe, fee or promise of advancement, to undertake actively the propagation and strengthening of this conviction was deemed a legitimate means to a desired end.

The prosperity of the Kentucky and Tennessee settlements depended absolutely upon the facility with which consuming markets for farm products could be reached. The long haul across the Alleghanies to Philadelphia, Baltimore and other Eastern cities was out of the question for grain, fruits, tobacco, and other bulky products. The cost of hauling amounted to more than the value of the article hauled. The only alternative was to ship by water, and the only water route was that which had the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers for its trunk line and their tributaries for its feeders. When this route was closed to them, their only recourse was to transform or transmute their bulkiest products, such as corn, into the less bulky whiskey,—an article marketable and consumable at all times and in all places, having a compactness in proportion to value sufficient to justify expense of overland transportation; or to feed the corn to hogs and cattle that transported themselves when driven to Eastern points. Subsistence on the drive was

derived from the mast and vegetation along the way.

The live-stock industry of this section was, therefore, always stimulated when Mississippi navigation was closed to Western commerce. It reached such proportions during protracted periods of this closure that when Cincinnati came to be founded, business enterprise found expression in the development of packing industries. To this the "Queen City" owes its early growth, its prestige and its ancient pseudonym "Porkopolis," its preeminence continuing for many years until the cities west of it arose and became greater live-stock centers.

The Spaniards owning both banks of the Mississippi from the mouth of the Yazoo down felt themselves possessed of an effective grappling hook with which to draw the settlers of the Ohio Valley to the jurisdiction of Spain when they reserved the free navigation of the Mississippi River exclusively to Spanish subjects. True, under Article 8 of the definitive Treaty of Paris, terminating the war of the American Revolution, the navigation of the Mississippi from its source to its mouth had been declared free and open to the citizens of the United States and to the subjects of Great Britain, on the supposition that the right of navigation granted to British subjects by Spain in 1763 passed to the new sovereigns of the Western country. But Spain had no intention of conceding this right to so weak a contender as the United States. She withheld

this concession officially,—though permitting it tacitly upon certain special occasions—all through the war of the American Revolution, maintaining that as the Americans owned no territory along the banks of this stream, they had no right to the stream's use.

After the war ended, however, this reason could no longer be urged. Permission or prohibition became arbitrary. A farmer on the Cumberland or the Tennessee River might set out on the long drift-voyage down stream to Natchez or New Orleans with a flatboat load of his farm products, assured when he started that all would be well, only to be met with fine or confiscation at the end of the voyage. He could do nothing but return in chagrin over the weakness of the government under which he lived that could give him no protection in his need and exact no satisfaction for his loss. Another one by luck, collusion or some happy personal influence might get his products through without mishap and return delighted with his profits, ready to sing pæans in praise of the Spaniard under whose beneficent rule with its perpetual guarantees of the free use of the river and of an ever dependable export market at New Orleans, it would be quite advantageous to dwell.

Certain diplomatic moves, news of which came to them, confirmed the settlers of the Ohio Valley in the belief that the general government had little interest in their prosperity and held of no importance concerns vital to their welfare. A condition

of general protest and irritability from which revolutionary and secessionary movements often arise, developed rapidly when John Jay, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, under the Confederation, proposed to Don Diego de Gardoqui, Spain's first ministerial representative to this country, that the United States would renounce all claim to the navigation of that part of the Mississippi River where Spain had jurisdiction over both banks, for a period of twenty-five years, in return for free access to the Mediterranean ports which Spain had closed to American commerce immediately after the close of the Revolution,—to the great injury of American merchants and exporters.

While Congress withheld its approval of this suggestion, yet the Western settlers could see in the move nothing more or less than a disposition on the part of the East to sacrifice Western interests for the benefit of the north Atlantic seaports, where American commercial and maritime enterprise was centered.

In all our diplomatic history no more lamentable a record for unpopularity is to be found than that credited to John Jay. Had he succeeded in his proposed sacrifice of the rights of the Western settlers, it is difficult to conceive the irreparable injury that might have been inflicted, abortive in its effects on the Republic of the United States about to be born. For it was the commercial needs of the seaboard States that brought together the Federal Convention from which our present Federal Gov-

ernment sprung, and had there been an easing up of the commercial situation promised by such concessions and compromises as Jay proposed to make, it might, if consummated, have postponed indefinitely the recognition of any need of a stronger union and therefore prolonged to that extent the condition of our national weakness. Instead of now stretching from sea to sea, we might have long ago found ourselves a Central-American-like string of small States fringing the Atlantic from Maine to Georgia, robbed of our choicest citizenry conscripted to build up Spanish empire in the Central West.

Spain's representatives were prompt to play upon the dissatisfaction of the Westerners. Emissaries were employed and dispatched to institute a propaganda of secession in Kentucky and Tennessee. Some whose names have high places of honor in the annals of the West were disposed to listen to these emissaries. It is an error, however, to condemn these as treasonably inclined, which one might be tempted to do without proper regard to the conditions and circumstances existing at the time. Bear in mind that the "American Government under the Articles of Confederation" was falling apart of its own weakness, and in no position to enforce direct authority; that when the war of the Revolution which called it into existence was ended, there was little about this government to inspire that respect, obedience and patriotic loyalty which is freely yielded by the citizens to the Gov-

ernment of the United States of to-day; that Kentucky was clamoring for separation from Virginia and was conceiving the idea of an independent Statehood that would make it free to join in such league, confederation or union as its people who had won it from the wilderness might will; that Tennessee had already given expression to this spirit of independence by constituting itself into the short-lived State of Franklin, and, finally, that their material interests, to better which these pioneers had come to the wilderness, were of such paramount importance that actions designed to conserve and promote these interests, but apparently subversive of existing fealty to the weak and distant government of the Confederation, could not in that day be subjected to criticism, where in this day of our developed nationalism, disapproval would be pronounced. One's actions can be condemned, one's culpability be fixed only by standards prevailing at the time. Loyalty to something that does not exist at one time should not be judged by the loyalty due when the something comes into existence.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

A STORMY PETREL OF WESTERN LIFE

WHEN the irritation of the Kentuckians over the closure of the Mississippi River to navigation was at its height, a challenge was flung to the Spaniards of the lower Valley, which, although declined, was of far reaching effect in the after history of the challenger and of the section in whose behalf the gauntlet was thrown down.

General James Wilkinson, a commanding figure on the Western stage of that time, had moved to Kentucky in 1784 and opened a mercantile business in Lexington. He was a veteran of the war of the American Revolution, having enlisted as a private at eighteen, and attained the rank of Brigadier-General by the time he was twenty. Throughout his long career, he seems to have been one of the greatest enemy-makers in public life. These enemies have put on record much to his detriment, while among his friends there seems to have been few to take up the cudgels in his defense to such a degree of effectiveness as to offset the recorded opinions of those to whom his existence seems to have been an offense. It should be said in justice

to him, that notwithstanding every charge and accusation brought against him during his lifetime, he seems to have retained the confidence of such men in public life as Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Adams and others, fair judges of capacity and fitness. Upon three occasions he was tried by court-of-inquiry or court-martial at his own insistence. In each case, accusation seems to have turned into commendation, as voiced by the verdict.

Perhaps no personality of his prominence in American history has come in for greater condemnation at the hands of certain historians. The smoke of the courts-martial in which he figured has apparently been ascribed to smoldering fires of guilt rather than, as claimed by his friends, those of hatred. The number of charges and indictments from which he was exonerated evidently have been assumed to comprise some that should have held. There is no question in the minds of those who have given the matter thorough, rather than superficial or say-so, consideration that his utterances and actions while a private citizen have been given a perspective false enough to confuse it with that of his military career, and that those who have condemned him most severely have failed to judge him fairly by the standards of his time and circumstances, but have taken those of a later day as their measuring rule.

There is no doubt that he was dominant, irascible and at times overbearingly inconsiderate of

those who held to opinions different from his. Toes in his way were stamped on; opposition met at his hands smashing instead of tactful overcoming. Those who hold against him cannot but concede, however, that he played a conspicuous part in the development of the earlier West, to the advantage of his fellow Westerners, however much they may condemn the methods he employed. It must be acknowledged to his credit that he is the only Commander-in-Chief who at any time in our history led the armies of the United States, from one end of its frontier to the other—from Canada to the Sabine line. He supplied Jefferson with maps and information of the great trans-Mississippi West acquired by the Louisiana purchase, which proved indispensable in winning public approval of Jefferson's overriding of the Constitution in making the purchase. He was the military representative to receive Louisiana in the ceremony of transfer from France to the United States, and was the first governor of the District of Louisiana after the territory of Orleans had been subtracted from its original domain. He was the inspirer of Long and Pike in their exploring expeditions to make the farther West known. He aborted the Burr conspiracy and thereby drew to himself the vituperations and the hatreds of the many powerful political friends and ardent admirers of that arch conspirator.

He is not to be condemned too severely for his Canadian campaign in the War of 1812, for the

dogs of unpreparedness, of insubordination of inferiors, of vacillation of superiors, and of helplessness of untrained militia could have pulled down a far greater lion of a leader than he. His services at Saratoga, specially commended to Congress by General Gates; his courage in retrieving the disgrace of Harmar's defeat at the hands of the Indians of the Northwest; his boldness in matching double dealing with double dealing in keeping the Spaniards of the Southwest in place and awing them into a hesitancy to precipitate hostilities, are all to his credit. In his old age and after retirement from the army, he listened to the call of Texas for independence, his only rewards in the end, an obscure burial spot in the Baptist Cemetery in the City of Mexico and a venomed page in the book of his country's history, as recorded by certain eminent historians, when, with the tolerance that comes with time and broader understanding, his record might have been more kindly entered.[1]

Wilkinson was prominent in the movement to secure Statehood for Kentucky. It would appear from his contemporaries that he was a man of commanding eloquence as well as of considerable literary skill. Such a man could not but take a leading part in public affairs wherever he might find himself. At the second convention in 1785, called together to win Statehood for Kentucky, he pre-

[1] Publications of the Louisiana Historical Society treat the career of Wilkinson from the beginning to end in a manner most thorough and calculated to bring about a revision of judgment pronounced upon him by influential contributors to American history.

pared the memorial to the Virginia Legislature and the address to the people of the Kentucky District, both of which sounded a clarion call for Kentucky's independence. In the Convention assembled in the early part of 1787, he denounced in fiery terms the proposed Jay treaty which was to close the Mississippi to Westerners for twenty-five years. He openly advocated Kentucky's complete independence and the entering into an agreement with Spain, or, failing which, such an alliance with England as would maintain Kentucky's natural rights against Spain's arbitrary rulings,—all of which the Convention wildly applauded, voting the thanks of the Convention to him for so eloquently presenting Kentucky's public opinion as to her needs and desires.

Wilkinson's real object seemed to be not so much to sever Kentucky from the Union as to bring forceably to the attention of the East the possible loss of this magnificent Western domain, unless greater consideration to its interests be given. It should be remembered that he was a private citizen at the time, that his future seemed to lie in the prosperity of the region to which he had pioneered and that the general government's claim upon the allegiance of the Westerners was not one tenth as strong in those days as was that of the United States, years after, upon the citizens of the Southern States, who, notwithstanding this claim, seceded under a strong conviction of rightly acting. Says Butler in his history of Kentucky (page 173), "To

try the conduct of the Kentucky statesmen in 1788 under a Confederation in ruins and factions, by the same principle which should now direct the mind under efficient and beneficent government, would be absurd and unjust."

Shaler, a more modern chronicler, declares, "The separatist movement of 1784–1790 was for separation from a government that hardly existed and against which many valid objections could be urged. Such a separation would have violated no pledge whatever."

Even after the stronger Federal Union was formed and the administration of the second President of the United States was under way, the ties binding the West to the general government were of the feeblest. Says Parton, "The reader must be reminded that during the administration of John Adams, the Union to the backwoodsman had not the sacred claim it has since possessed. The noise of party contention filled the land. The Union seemed to hang together by a thread which any moment might break."

As no greater service could be rendered the section in which he had made his home than to open up the Mississippi to the free use of the Western settlers, Wilkinson proceeded single-handed to its accomplishment. In the spring of 1787, while the feeling between Kentucky and the Spanish authorities of lower Louisiana was at its height, he loaded a flatboat with tobacco, hams, butter and flour, contributed by his neighbors, and set out

fearlessly on the perilous fourteen-hundred-mile voyage down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans.

In making a trip for any distance on the Western rivers at that particular time, it was customary to lash three flat-boats abreast, the central one for crew and cargo, the outer two for bulwarks of defense against hostile Indians. Wilkinson ignored these precautions and set out in a single craft, made the voyage without mishap, passed Natchez unchallenged and arrived at New Orleans, where his boat and cargo were promptly seized by the Spanish revenue officers.

But the Spanish authorities soon began to experience misgivings over their action. Here was no ordinary uninfluential backwoods farmer timidly seeking a market for his produce, no uncouth, half-horse-and-half-alligator flatboatman on a speculative venture, to be summarily dealt with without fear of consequence, but a commanding figure in American affairs of that time, a leader of the Kentucky frontiersmen whose fierceness and aggressiveness had been wildly munchausened,—"men who swore and spat mightily, drank deep and shot straight." Beware, Miro, lest the sending of this boat and cargo from far-off Kentucky be but a ruse, its seizure a desired excuse for a warlike swoop down upon you of these Kentuckians, and the Province over which you rule in too weak and unprepared a condition to withstand them!

Governor Miro deemed it wise to order the release of the boat and permit its cargo to be disposed of to advantage, all of which was viewed with apparently utter unconcern by Wilkinson, who suavely begged Miro not to incur the displeasure of his Excellency's home government by refraining from confiscating the boat and cargo, if the law so ordered,—a request that increased Miro's trepidation and convinced him all the more of the danger that threatened. He immediately sought a friendly interview with Wilkinson, during which he promised to exert himself in securing the removal of the restrictions upon the river trade and sought in every way to learn the nature and intentions of the Kentuckians. He was not reassured by the information received, for while he learned that Kentucky was on the eve of seceding from the Confederation, he was informed of the strong sentiment there prevailing to combine with England against Spain as a means of securing the free navigation of the Mississippi. Miro was so impressed that he deemed it wise to interpose thenceforth no serious obstacles to trade, favoring, however, certain persons and traders of influence in the matter, until such time as his home government and its Minister at Philadelphia took him to task for displaying such leniency in extending the exemptions he did.

Wilkinson's next trade venture was a cargo of tobacco, which, upon arrival at New Orleans, was appropriated—not seized—by the Spanish au-

thorities, as a monopoly of the tobacco trade was a prerogative of the Spanish Crown. Its value was fixed at $17,874. When, as has been claimed, after several years' delay a large part of this debt was paid to Wilkinson in person and before witnesses by a representative of the Spanish Government, it gave the enemies of Wilkinson, who had meanwhile become an officer in the United States army, an opportunity to distort the circumstance into an accusation of bribe-receiving, which charge, upon a careful review of the evidence presented and the success with which the credibility of the witness has been disproved, must be set aside.

This tobacco transaction was Wilkinson's last trade venture. His whole capital had been embarked in it. Delay in settlement for it embarrassed him financially. He went out of the mercantile business, and was free to undertake employment of another kind. The Indians of the Northwest had been giving the frontier settlements much trouble. The military forces of the United States had been meeting with little success against them. Wilkinson led a punitive expedition of Kentucky rangers into the Indian country and brilliantly regained for the Americans a large part of the prestige lost through Harmar's defeat. For this he was especially complimented by Washington, who appointed him a Colonel in the regular army, from which he soon arose to Commander-in-Chief. His career as a private citizen of Kentucky

was thus ended, and his military career was thus begun anew. But to the end, his destiny continued to be inextricably interwoven with that of the progressing Western frontier.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

THE WANING OF SPAIN'S POWER

NOTE has been made of the disposition of the Spanish authorities of upper Louisiana to encourage immigration from east of the Mississippi River. This disposition for a time existed in lower Louisiana but was very much weakened by Miro's acquired fear of having turbulent Kentuckians to deal with, should immigration from that section to the Southwest take place in large numbers. Gardoqui, Spain's representative at the national capital, however, was heartily in favor of it, offering land grant inducements of every kind, believing that if the population of West Florida and upper Louisiana could be made homogeneous with that of the settled sections of Kentucky and Tennessee, it would facilitate Spanish acquirement of these last. In pursuance of this policy George Morgan, as has been stated, received his New Madrid grant; Colonel Bruin of the Virginia Continental line, through the good offices of General Washington, secured a fine tract of land on Bayou Pierre sixty miles above Natchez; Ezekiel Forman of Freehold, N. J., with sixty slaves moved to Natchez and set-

tled on St. Catherine's Creek nearby. Bernard Lintot of Vermont and families by the name of Ellis, Moore and Hutchins were prominent in the section about Natchez, when Forman and his party arrived. Stephen Minor from Princeton, N. J., was high in the good graces of the Spaniards, rising to the rank of "Fort Major" under Commandant Gayoso of the Natchez District and afterwards to that of Commandant when Gayoso was promoted to be Governor of the whole Louisiana Province. The movement of the settlers into West Florida at this time was from the Northeast to the Southwest. Georgia, South Carolina and North Carolina were as yet scarcely represented as Cherokee and Creek still barred the way to any movement due west from these States across Georgia and Alabama.

Dreams of the acquirement of the whole eastern portion of the Mississippi Valley began to fade from the Spanish mind when the newly formed government of the United States under its first President, Washington, was launched. This government was vested with a power to act such as had never been possessed by the government of the Confederation, and its chief executive could bring this power into play more promptly and effectively than could the previous government, which consisted of a Congress only.

Morover, its chief executive was of forceful personality, whose military and public career commanded the utmost respect, West as well as East,

abroad as well as at home. Then, Kentucky was admitted as a State shortly after the new Union was formed, which removed for a time much of the unrest of that section. Tennessee's admission soon followed. No wiles of diplomacy could now lure these Western areas from the Union, no intrigue could be attempted without serious complications arising with this new power among nations. Indeed from supposing it possible to gain new territory in the Valley, Spain found herself confronted with a possibility of losing territory already possessed.

In adding the territory between the 31st parallel and the line of the mouth of the Yazoo River to West Florida, England had violated Georgia's charter rights to this region. With the passing of West Florida to Spain, Georgia proceeded to reclaim these rights. In theory the added portion had been only temporarily joined purely as a matter of administrational convenience. According to the Georgia interpretation, the northern boundary of the Floridas had really never extended farther north than latitude 31. The Natchez section therefore belonged to Georgia and a representation to this effect was made to Governor Miro by commissioners appointed for the purpose. Governor Miro peremptorily declined to concede that Georgia had any claim whatever to the territory. Notwithstanding which fact, Georgia did not hesitate to grant vast tracts of land fronting on the Mississippi, from Natchez northward, to various companies.

One of these was composed of leading citizens of Charleston, including Generals Moultrie and Huger of Revolutionary War fame, Major Sipes and others. Another in Virginia included among its stockholders Patrick Henry. In after years the "Yazoo Claims" were to be brought before Congress, furnishing juicy morsels to be cuddily chewed over by political scandalmongers.

Finally the United States took up the diplomatic negotiations to establish the boundary line between Spanish and American possessions, maintaining the 31st parallel to be the proper one. Negotiations went on without concession on either side until 1794, when Spain, finding herself involved in difficulties with France and England, decided that peace had better be made with Americans across the sea to obviate any additional disturbing complication.

Humiliating and delaying tactics to which Thomas Pinckney, the United States envoy to the Court of Madrid, had for some time been subjected ceased suddenly upon his peremptory demand for his passports. In three days the matter was settled and a treaty drawn up. The 31st parallel was accepted as the boundary line to be officially run by a joint commission of surveyors. The right to deposit and store merchandise and produce at New Orleans subject to trans-shipment, either seaward or interiorward, was conceded to the Americans for a period of three years subject to renewal.

Subsequent developments make it clear that

Spain's concessions were simply to tide her over a temporary emergency and were not to be lived up to, should she find herself in position to set them aside. But let due note be taken that the year 1783, when the war of the American Revolution ended, marks the zenith of Spanish power in America. And the year 1795, when she made her first surrender of territory to the new American Republic, marks the first step of her decline. The year 1800 witnessed her loss of Louisiana, to which consideration will be given elsewhere. In 1808 began the long series of revolts which freed South and Central America from the Spanish yoke. In 1810 West Florida was lost to her by revolution and annexation to the United States; in 1819 East Florida by treaty and purchase. In 1821 Mexico, with its dependencies of Texas, Arizona, New Mexico and Southern California won its freedom. Finally, in 1898–99 Cuba and Porto Rico were wrested from her by the United States, leaving her not one foot of soil on the western hemisphere, where once she was supreme.

PART V

The Passing of a Province

CHAPTER TWENTY

A PAWN AND FOUR PLAYERS

THOUGH the loss of the province of Louisiana never ceased to rankle in the bosoms of French statesmen, no expectation of recovering colonial possessions in North America seems to have directed their policy in aiding the American Revolutionists. The plan of rebuilding a colonial empire in the New World was born in the brain of Napoleon Bonaparte or of his secretary, Talleyrand, toward the close of the century. It was a policy fraught with grave dangers to the young republic across the sea.

Napoleon determined to bring pressure to bear on Spain to return Louisiana. The victor of Marengo was too powerful an individual to be gainsaid in any of his desires by so feeble a nation as Spain, which, by this time, had come to be more and more dependent upon France. Yet, inspired by his Prime Minister, Godoy,—a minister who in the end resigned rather than be a party to a surrender of territory so humiliating to his country,—the King manifested the greatest reluctance in acceding to the giving up of his Louisiana possessions.

The inducement of providing a new, made-to-order kingdom in Tuscany for the Duke of Parma, husband of the Spanish Infanta, was, however, a very tempting one. As an influencing force it so nearly equaled his desire to retain Louisiana that action became vacillating and decision doubtful. Three treaty negotiations were required before the King's signature was secured. The first was by Berthier, October 1, 1800; the second by Lucien Bonaparte, brother of Napoleon, March 21, 1801, and the third by Gouvion St. Cyr, October 15, 1802. As the second and third were confirmatory of the first treaty, the one finally signed on the last date is assumed to bear the date of its first drawing up. The result of these three negotiations is known as the secret treaty of San Ildefonso.

However politely and affectionately worded was the language of diplomacy employed by the two governments upon the occasion of this treaty, historians recognize the fact that the transaction was purely and simply a case of "stand and deliver" on one side and reluctant yielding upon the other. True, two concessions were made the reluctant party to give verisimilitude to the theory that value was being exchanged for a consideration, or, as the saying goes, "to save the face" of the held-up monarch. First, Napoleon pledged that a kingdom to be known as Etruria, with a population of not less than one million, would be created out of French conquests in Northern Italy. The Duke

of Parma was to be installed as king, and he was to be so recognized, through France's power and influence, by Austria, England and the Duke of Tuscany, whose territory was to be included in the new kingdom. The second was that France was never to part with this gift extorted from Spain except to return it to the donor, "in case the King of Tuscany should lose the whole or the greater part of his estates."

Neither one of these considerations, whose rendering could not but be necessary to complete a legal contract, was, in fact, given. France did *not* create a kingdom for the Duke of Parma; she *did* alienate Louisiana, yielding it up to a power other than Spain. So far as complying with its terms, the Treaty of San Ildefonso was a mere scrap of paper to Europe's war-lord of that day. The title to Louisiana acquired from France by the United States had its source in this treaty. One is therefore unavoidably driven to the conclusion that the United States acquired a clouded title in purchasing Louisiana, to which consideration will subsequently be given. No physical sanction would have been accorded it, had there been a common superior authority to enforce equity among nations; no moral sanction which the fundamental principle of Right alone confers, can be extended to it. That the American title to the western half of the Mississippi Valley is now clear is due to the fact that Spain at the time of the purchase was too weak to back up her vigorous protests

by force of arms. The apparent acquiescence of the other nations, except for sundry diplomatic questionings, was due to the absorbing attention —both military and diplomatic—they were compelled to give to affairs nearer at home. Undisturbed possession of the acquired region has been sufficiently long to quiet title, for it would seem that some unwritten international statute of limitations is tacitly recognized, under which strong nations hold that which they may have originally, however illegally, acquired.

Even before the final ratification of the Treaty of San Ildefonso, Napoleon began preparations to take possession of Spanish Louisiana. "Present me," he wrote Decrés, Minister of Marine, "a plan for organizing the colony, both civil and military; for works, fortifications, etc. Make a map of the coast from St. Augustine to Mexico and a geographical description of the different cantons, with population and resources of each." He assembled at Dunkirk an expeditionary force formidable enough to be officered by one general of division and three brigade commanders. Bernadotte, one of the few men of that day whom Napoleon could not awe and dominate, who was to win distinction at Austerlitz and who was yet to wear Sweden's crown, was Napoleon's first selection as commander of the expedition, to remove from the field of Europe a possible and dangerous rival, as it was currently thought. But Bernadotte was wily enough to decline the responsibility in such a way as to avoid

any charge of insubordination; whereupon General Victor was selected.

Meanwhile, France's colony of Santo Domingo, five sixths of whose population of 600,000 were African slaves, had caught the spirit of the French Revolution. The blacks rose against their masters, drove the whites from the island under circumstances of great atrocity, proclaimed freedom and set up a government of their own. The leader of the revolt was Toussaint L'Ouverture, probably the most capable and famous military leader and statesman the African race has ever produced.

As the island was a necessary relay station in the passage of French troops to Louisiana, it had to be brought back to French control before the expedition to Louisiana could be undertaken. "Rid us of this gilded African," wrote Napoleon to General Leclerc, who set out to the conquest of Santo Domingo, "and we shall have nothing more to desire." But though Leclerc made a successful landing, administered a seemingly crushing defeat and sent L'Ouverture a prisoner to France, the blacks, threatened as they were with a return to slavery, resorted to a desperate and protracted guerilla warfare, during which yellow fever appeared as a powerful ally. The French troops were actually, as well as figuratively, decimated and further effort to hold the island was made impossible.

This Santo Domingo episode is here noted for its significant bearing upon the history of the Mis-

sissippi Valley. The revolt retarded, for the time being, Napoleon's plans to invade and occupy Louisiana. The Valley thus escaped by a hair, as it were, a return to French domination,—a domination which, had it been firmly established at that time with a formidable military in control, might not have been as easily dislodged as had been that of Spain.

Morever, many of the whites of the island, compelled to flee in terror from the savagery and horror of revolt, took refuge in Louisiana with such servants as remained faithful and such part of their wealth as they had been able to save out of the general wreckage. Thus was added another element to the already heterogeneous population of the lower Valley. It is claimed that Chicago is indebted to Santo Domingo for the first settler upon the site of that city, in the person of Jean Baptist Point de Saible (or au Sable), who, in 1777, built on the banks of the Chicago river, near its mouth, a house of square logs, which he occupied until 1796.

Before further steps could be taken to clear up the Santo Domingo muddle, Napoleon found himself confronting a war with England. His opportunity to take by occupation what he had extorted by treaty had come and gone. What a chance it would have given England to lodge herself in the very heart of the American continent, had the treaty of San Ildefonso been officially promulgated and French occupancy of Spanish

Louisiana become an accomplished fact before the arrival of that titanic struggle which was in time to lead Napoleon to Elba and then to Waterloo. England's naval power, then as now, was supreme —conceded so by Napoleon himself—and in the face of war, no colonial possession of France in America could have been retained without supremacy on sea.

Napoleon was wise enough to see this and with lightning-like decision determined to forestall the possible loss of Louisiana. "I will sell Louisiana to the Americans," he thought. "I will thereby make of them my friends. I will put them in position to develop such strength and power as will enable them in time to humble my enemy, England, to the dust. I will get money from the deal to put into my war chest."

He announced his intention privately to his brothers, Lucien and Joseph. They were astounded and at once interposed strenuous, almost violent opposition. Lucien felt that he had been largely instrumental in winning Louisiana to France through his part in the San Ildefonso treaty and thereby wiping out the stain of its original loss. He was loath to see his achievement thus summarily discounted. Joseph, who was still strongly republican at heart and did not always chime in with the imperialistic views of his Consul-brother, set up the objection that the Chambers of Deputies alone had the power to alienate French territory and not the first Consul. Lucien also

held that the Constitution did not confer this power on the first Consul. "The Chambers! The Constitution!" exclaimed Napoleon. "Parbleu! What is the Constitution to me? I will act independently of it." He did so. When he took from the representatives of his people their right of eminent domain, when he arrogated to himself the privilege of altering at will the map of his country's possessions, he vested in himself for the first time Sovereign Authority and he there made the crossing of his Rubicon on his way to that supreme dictatorship, which, as Emperor, he was afterwards to exercise.

Meanwhile, the subject of the free use of the Mississippi and the right of trans-shipment at New Orleans had irritatingly arisen again. During the three years' concession following the treaty of 1795, the development of the West had received a tremendous impetus. The flatboat trade with the lower Valley had enormously increased. The United States had been under the necessity of appointing a consul at New Orleans to look after the interests of the Western shippers. The Americans had every reason to expect that the concession would be promptly renewed at the expiration of the time limit. To their astonishment, Don Juan Ventura Morales, the Spanish Intendent, suddenly issued an order, on October 16, 1802, suspending the right of deposit. He named no substitute port, which he was to do according to the terms of the treaty.

The West at that time was of a different temper from the West of a few years previous, when Wilkinson had made his first venturesome voyage down stream and succeeded on his own account in opening the Mississippi to navigation. It had increased in population, power and assertiveness. Kentucky and Tennessee were now States; Ohio about to become so. The United States was to be reckoned with in all matters bearing upon the welfare of its Western members. Such a storm of protest, both popular and diplomatic, arose that Governor Salcedo and Spanish Minister Yrujo felt it incumbent upon themselves to disclaim the act of Morales and, apparently, to endeavor to have it rescinded.

Under the Spanish policy as explained previously, the Intendent of the colony was independent of the authority of the Governor in matters connected with revenues, trade, port regulations, etc. Morales "stood pat," asserting that the King and the King alone was the only one to whom he could look to for direction in such matters. The months dragged on; irritation over the situation reached fever heat. The Kentuckians proposed to cut the Gordian knot by marching upon New Orleans and wresting by force the rights which official stubbornness was denying them. The President felt it necessary to station three regiments of troops on the Ohio as a precautionary measure against a clash that might lead to international complications. Uncertainty as to the future of the West marked the close of the century.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

AN IMPERIALISTIC PURCHASE

THROUGHOUT the early years of the Republic the game of diplomacy had to be skillfully played lest that part of the Mississippi Valley already won be lost to its winners as well as to the American people as a whole. England, as a neighbor of the cis-Mississippi region, on the north; Spain a close neighbor on the west and south; France with a reawakened desire to regain her colonial empire in America all watchfully waited for either provocation or favoring opportunity to win that for which they had long hungered. To act against New Orleans might mean retaliatory invasion, or a combined flight of European eagles swooping down upon American territorial prey.

The United States was as yet a weakling among nations. Its best defense of the West was in the fighting spirit of the Westerners, every man of whom could make of himself a brick in the battlements opposing armed invasion. It was well, therefore, to increase the number of these Westerners, though none of the early Presidents really favored Western migration, for the reason that it

further attenuated the already sparse population east of the Alleghanies. But all realized that everyone who went "out West" imbibed in time the spirit of the older holders of the soil and aided by numbers in strengthening every Western line of defense. Prosperity, therefore, must continue to dwell where the free navigation of the Mississippi first induced her to take up her abode. In the matter of commercial needs, the West, like Youth, must be served.

Thus it was the United States, in conformity with its leading purpose "to promote the general welfare" found it incumbent upon itself to secure a commercial depot-site near the mouth of the Mississippi River. Either the island of New Orleans or the narrow stretch of West Florida would answer the purpose. At no time was it the intent or desire of the United States to acquire territory west of the river. It was, however, desirable to acquire both West Florida and New Orleans, for that would give to American ownership the entire right bank of the Mississippi an admirable and definite boundary line, and to the commerce of the West, unhampered egress to the sea. The acquirement of East Florida was also an acceptable idea because of the several rivers, which, rising in the United States, flowed through that region to the Gulf. The free navigation of these streams might have to be contended for in the future, should foreign ownership continue. But New Orleans was the depot site most strongly desired. Its

relative value was appraised by Secretary of State Madison as four times that of West and East Florida combined. West Florida, though of insignificant extent compared with East Florida, was held to be twice the value of the latter, presumably because of its frontage on the Mississippi and the eligibility of its settlement of Baton Rouge, now the capital of the State of Louisiana, for a depot site in the event that New Orleans could not be obtained.

So the American Minister to France, Robert R. Livingston, was commissioned to move in the matter of purchasing New Orleans and the Floridas. For a protracted period, Livingston was at sea as to whom to apply. His correspondence shows that, at first, he was not sure that Louisiana, including New Orleans, had been ceded by Spain, the French Minister withholding from him all official information upon the subject. When the secret of the San Ildefonso treaty could no longer be kept inviolate, he could not ascertain whether or not West Florida was included in the cession, and, in consequence, did not know whether his offer to buy that province should be made to France or Spain.

This period of doubt continued for more than two years. Meanwhile, Livingston busied himself with the preparation of a memoir setting forth reasons why France should not possess herself of Louisiana, because of the enmities and complications that were sure to follow. Time dragged on.

The Westerners were becoming restless almost to the point of turbulency and were showing themselves disposed to be more resentful of the acquirement of Louisiana by France than they had been over its possession by Spain. The Presidential election was approaching in which the West could give concrete expression to its discontent. Something had to be done.

The turbulence of the West, the growing opposition in Congress and the aggressive spirit of State legislatures forced Jefferson's hand. On January 11, 1803, he sent to the Senate the name of James Monroe, Governor of Virginia, as Minister Extraordinary, to aid Livingston in "enlarging and more effectually securing our rights and interests in the river Mississippi and in the territories eastward thereof."

Monroe's instructions were to purchase, if possible, New Orleans and the Floridas, at a price not to exceed $10,000,000. Failing in this or in the securing of any kind of a desirable site near the Mississippi's mouth, or on the rivers flowing through the Floridas, the old right of deposit on the Mississippi was to be secured and enlarged, and similar privileges on the rivers of the Floridas secured. His arrival was opportune, for Napoleon had just reached his decision to sell all of Louisiana to the Americans. An intimation of the possibility of such a sale had already been made to Livingston and been received with incredulity, although he set forth to Tallyerand, the French

Minister, who conveyed the intimation, that United States ownership of the west bank of the Mississippi above the mouth of the Arkansas would be of advantage to France as interposing a complete buffer between her lower Valley possessions and the English of Canada.

Only two days before Monroe's arrival in Paris, Napoleon had held a council with his Ministers, Marbois and Decrés, which was hardly more than an opportunity to declare his will in the matter. He spoke to them with vehemence and passion.[1]

"I know the worth of Louisiana and I have wished to repair the error of the French negotiator who abandoned it in 1762," said he. "I have recovered it on paper through some lines in a treaty; but I have hardly done so when I am about to lose it again. But if it escapes me, it will cost those who force me to give it up, more dearly than the cost to those to whom I will surrender it. The English have successively taken from France, Canada, the Isle Royal, Newfoundland and the richest territories of Asia. They are intriguing and disturbing in San Domingo. They shall not have the Mississippi which they covet. Louisiana is nothing in comparison with their aggrandizement in all parts of the globe; but the jealousy they feel because of its return under the dominion of France warns me that they intend to seize it and thus they will begin war. They have already twenty vessels in the Gulf of Mexico. They swagger over those seas as sovereigns; and in San Domingo, since the death of Leclerc, our affairs are going from bad to worse. The conquest of Louisiana will be easy if they will only take the trouble to descend upon it. I have not a moment to lose in putting it out of their power. I wish to take away from them the idea that they will ever be able to

[1] See Marbois's *History of Louisiana*, p. 263.

own this colony. I contemplate turning it over to the United States. I should hardly be able to say that I had ceded it to them, for we are not in possession of it. But even a short delay may leave me nothing but a vain title to transmit to these Republicans, whose friendship I seek. They are asking me but a single city of Louisiana, but I already regard the whole colony as lost, and it seems to me that in the hands of this rising power it will be more useful to the politics and even to the commerce of France than if I attempt to keep it."

These words of Napoleon revealed the necessity for prompt action. There was no time to refer the matter to the Government of the United States, to obtain of Spain the annulment of the clause of the San Ildefonso treaty, which covered non-alienation, even to ascertain the wishes of the Louisianians themselves in regard to a change of citizenship. To the credit of our envoys, decision to exceed their authority and make the purchase was promptly arrived at, queening by their action-move the Louisiana pawn that European powers had so long been playing over the world's territorial chessboard.

France owed "Spoliation Claims" to the United States for destruction of commerce in the recent war between France and England,—for neutral commerce suffered when ground between the millstones of war in those days as it has repeatedly done since at the hands of belligerents. So while the price agreed upon exceeded by some five million dollars the amount Monroe had been authorized to offer for New Orleans and West Florida,

yet the deduction of these claims, made part of the agreement, offset in a large part the extra amount of purchase price called for, which was 80,000,000 francs,—approximately $15,000,000.

The moment of signing the treaty by which the United States acquired Louisiana was a very solemn one to all the parties to the agreement. As the commissioners shook hands, Livingston, as recorded by Marbois in his excellent *History of Louisiana*, said[1]:

"The treaty which we have just signed has not been accomplished by finesse or determined by force. Equally advantageous to both contracting parties, it will change vast solitudes into a flourishing country. To-day the United States take their place among the powers of the first rank. Moreover, France will have in the new world a friend increasing in power year by year, which cannot fail to become puissant and respected on all the seas of the earth. The instrument we have signed will cause no tears to flow. It will prepare centuries of happiness for innumerable generations of the human race. The Mississippi and the Missouri will see them prosper and increase in the midst of equality under just laws, free from the errors of superstition, from the scourge of bad government, and truly worthy of the regard of Providence."

It was Napoleon's desire, and the treaty so stipulated, that the Louisianians be immediately incorporated into the Union and all the rights of American citizenship be at once accorded them. "Let Louisianians know," said he, "that we separate ourselves from them with regret; that we stipulate

[1] Marbois, p. 310.

everything they can desire; and let them hereafter, happy in their independence, recollect that they have been Frenchmen, and that France, in ceding them, has secured for them advantages which no European power, however paternal, could have afforded. Let them retain love for us; and may our common origin, language and customs perpetuate this love."

Did this message from heart to hearts reach across the sea and find response? Apparently it did. More than one hundred years have elapsed since it was voiced. There are still dwellers in the *Vieux Carré* of New Orleans who remember that they are French by sympathy, traditions, language and descent; whose love and reverence for France a century of years has not dimmed; who have never sensed a feeling of expatriation, notwithstanding the change of jurisdiction brought about by the purchase of their province; who boast of their unfamiliarity with the English tongue, and of never setting foot across Canal Street—the line dividing the French from the American sections of the city—taking to themselves much virtuous satisfaction therefrom.

No portion of the French-speaking race watched with more intense interest the stormy career of Napoleon; more jubilantly exulted in his victories or grieved with greater anguish over his downfall. His triumphs are recorded in the nomenclature of New Orleans streets,—Austerlitz, Marengo, Jena, Milan, Berlin; his name is given to one of the Cres-

cent City's broadest and most stately avenues. There still stands in the historic section of the old French Quarter of New Orleans, the "Napoleon House," a most imposing structure at the time of its erection. It was purchased and luxuriously furnished by public subscription when news of the Emperor's exile to St. Helena reached Louisiana. To this home and refuge he was to be brought by a blockade-running expedition under the fearless leadership of a semi-piratical hero of the battle of New Orleans, Dominick You. Here he was to be harbored for the rest of his days, in kindliest care and deepest affection. His might have been the fate to find sepulture in the old *Cimetière St. Louis*, at the end of the noble tree-shaded thoroughfare of the Esplanade, New Orleans, instead of under the *Dome des Invalides*, Paris. Only news of his death, as the expedition was about to set out, put an end to the adventure. The city mourned his loss profoundly. Truly did the Louisianians remember.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

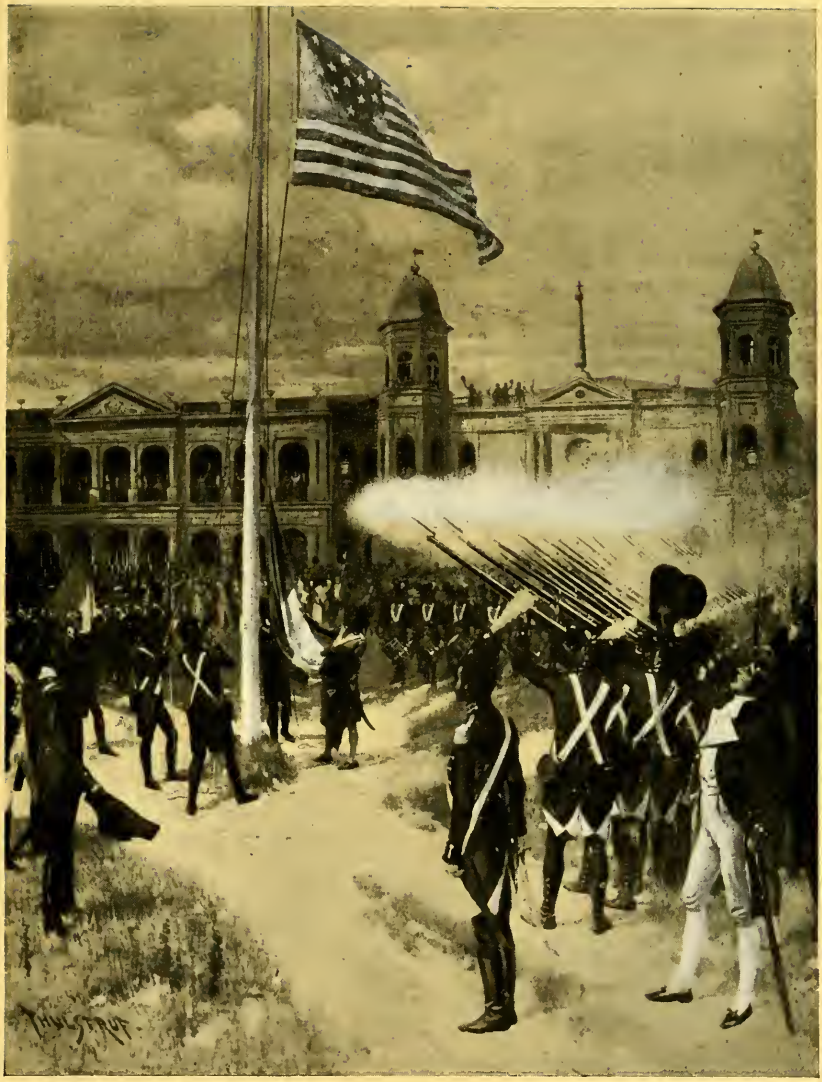
TRANSFERRINGS OF TITLE

THE Louisianians, advised of the retrocession of their province to France, awaited the arrival of General Victor and prepared to accord him an elaborate welcome. Contracts to furnish meat and other supplies for the expected troops were actually let. Even cockades—the insignia of the French Republic—were made ready for wearing, although the Louisianians, at heart, were really more Royalist than Republican.

But France was needing at home all her officers and soldiers. On March 26, 1803, Colonial Prefect Laussat, who, as originally planned, was to accompany General Victor, arrived alone. Although he was received with honor, he could not but notice a certain restraint in the attitude of a number of the colonists. They could not conceal their disappointment over the non-arrival of the military to give a prestige to the occasion which this single civil officer could not impart. While there were some who hailed with sentimental enthusiasm a return to French domination, there were others who had become attached to the rule of Spain and

still others who regarded the proposed change of jurisdiction as calamitous. The merchants anticipated with uneasiness a possible disarrangement of, or an interference with, the colony's commerce. The planters feared the freeing of their slaves, which would mean disaster to themselves, as the slogan, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," sounding from across the sea seemed to them significant of this liberation. Refugees escaped from a remembered Robespierrean reign of terror trembled lest a belated, insatiable vengeance overtake them. Priests and religious orders recalling with horror the sacrilegious outrages of the French Revolution prepared to abandon their charges, all but nine of the Ursuline Sisterhood actually taking their departure from New Orleans rather than again be under French jurisdiction.

Laussat found himself in a position almost as anomalous as was that of Ulloa a little less than forty years before. Meanwhile, he went through the formality of issuing a public address to the people in which he announced the retrocession of Louisiana to France and congratulated the Louisianians upon becoming once more French subjects. He was perfunctorily applauded and replied to. He was assured that while "their souls were filled with a delirium of extreme felicity" over the intelligence he had conveyed to them, yet respondents were not unmindful of the advantages they had been enjoying under the beneficent rule of Spain.



Ceremonial of the Transfer of Louisiana to the United States

(From a painting owned by the Louisiana Historical Society and reproduced by special permission)

Showing Place d'Armes as it appeared before its embellishment and conversion into "Jackson Square," and the Cabildo and St. Louis Cathedral before their subsequent renovation and improvement

"We should be unworthy of what to us is a subject of so much pride," said they, "did we not acknowledge that we have no cause of complaint against the Spanish government. We have not been subjected to the yoke of an oppressive despotism. We, of course, remember the time when the blood of our unfortunate kinsmen reddened the soil they would save. But responsibility for this was not to be laid to Spaniards but to the atrocious soul of a foreigner."

Referring to their Spanish-born fellow citizens, they continued:

"We have become bound together by the ties of family connection and the bonds of friendship. Let us share with them like brothers the blessings of our new position."

Marquis de Casa Calvo, representing the Captain-General of Cuba, Louisiana and the Floridas, arrived from Havana to act with Governor Salcedo in the transfer of the province to France. He was of the best Spanish blood, of the highest social prestige and of consummate skill in arranging and presiding over public and private functions and ceremonies. He was accompanied by a pompous body-guard and a brilliant staff of officers to provide an effulgent background to his glory. He had felt, with other high-bred Spaniards, the humiliation of his country's having to give up Louisiana, but was determined that the withdrawal of Spanish power from the Valley should be accompanied by such a blaze of festivity as to blind all to Spain's humiliation in withdrawing. He would give the pleasure-loving Louisianians cause to regret the passing from the province of Spain's paternal aristocrats who

had governed them so kindly. He would leave a last impression that for many a year to come would cause them to sigh for the good old days of the Spanish régime.

A whirl of social gayeties and festivities was set in motion. Entertainment followed entertainment. Balls, concerts and dinners succeeded one another seemingly without end. Theaters were run in full blast. The spirit of those who were hosts on these occasions was, "See what a glad, sweet song life is under Spanish rule. Enjoy while ye may for soon will come the dullness of existence under the democratic rule of republicanized France."

These proceedings were a challenge to Laussat, which he promptly accepted. The prestige of his country, social or otherwise, was not to suffer by contrast while it reposed with him. He was blessed with a wife of much personal charm, who ably seconded him in arranging a series of counter entertainments which dovetailed into those the Spaniards were giving. Function followed function, each going its predecessor one better. No two rivals for social leadership in the so-called smart set of American society of later times were ever to compete for ascendancy with greater intensity of purpose than was manifested by this grandee, Casa Calvo, and this "Citizen," Laussat. But vain, vain, the prideful efforts of the French contender in this social race! The palm of whatever victories were his had in the end to be laid

upon the pyre of his country's colonial ambitions, to mingle its ashes with those of his own dead hopes. For, eight months after his arrival, Laussat, having received authority to take over Louisiana from Spain, did so in the knowledge that the province was not to be France's but was to be passed on to the United States. Nevertheless, the ceremony of lowering the Spanish flag and raising that of France was gone through with much formality,[1] a provisional government instituted and the Cabildo replaced by a mayor, two adjuncts and a municipal council. Étienne de Boré—afterwards famous as the father of Louisiana's sugar industry—was appointed mayor *pro tem.*

Twenty days after,[2] a second ceremony was staged, when Governor Claiborne of the nearby Mississippi territory and General James Wilkinson of the United States Army, having been commissioned to receive the Province, arrived with a contingent of Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee militia. As these Westerners marched through the upper city gates they were greeted with a salute of twenty-one guns.

In the *Place d'Armes,* as upon a former occasion, the colonial military were drawn up to receive the visitors. But what a contrast in impressiveness and pageantry to that other possession-taking ceremony when, within the memory of many onlookers, O'Reilly had entered the city on his mission of vengeance! The Westerners, uncouthly equipped,

[1] November 30, 1803. [2] December 20, 1803.

lined up on one side of the square. The native newly-organized and uniformed militia lined up on the other. Neither were the imposing decorations to the landscape that O'Reilly's richly caparisoned three thousand had been.

With the two military contingents thus assembled, the two commissioners entered the Council-House—late the Cabildo—and presented their credentials to Laussat. These, with the treaty of cession, the *procès-verbal* of transfer and the formal authorization to the French commissioner to complete the transaction, were read aloud. Laussat delivered the keys of the city to Claiborne, figuratively as well as in fact, for the New Orleans of that day had gates where roads entered the city. He then led him to the balcony where exactly one hundred years afterwards President McKinley was to stand, the central figure in the exercises commemorative of the centenary of Louisiana's transfer to the United States.

Here, facing the militia and the people crowding the square before them, Laussat formally absolved all Louisianians from their allegiance to the country which only twenty days before had taken them under its jurisdiction. Claiborne followed with a conciliatory address in English, a language understood by not a third of his hearers. The French flag began its descent from the staff in the center of the square and at the same time the American flag began its ascent. As the two met and paused midway in seeming salutation, each

of the other, a gun was fired. This was a signal to the forts on the outskirts of the city and to the vessels in port to discharge their many salvos. The major portion of the large crowd assembled looked on in apparent unconcern; a small contingent of Americans cheered as the flag of their country arose. Thus ended the ceremony.

Louisiana, the western half of America's great central valley, was now a possession of the United States. Its purchase had stretched the powers of the Federal Constitution so that they were never again to return to the exact limits originally set for them by the founders of the Republic. Its acquirement marked the first significant step towards a national territorial advance, which even the broad waters of the world's greatest ocean have failed to check.

The organization of the Valley's first government under the American flag precipitated upon the lawmakers of our country for the first time in our history the issue of Imperialism,—the governing by a free people of a distant less-free people, whether of right or to the infliction of wrong,—which in a little less than a century was to rise paramount in connection with Cuba and the Philippines. The soil of the territory purchased held seeds which, when stimulated by sectional antagonisms, were to grow and ripen into fruitage of one of the greatest conflicts of all times. Notwithstanding all of which, no American citizen of whatever generation will cease to have reason to congratulate himself

that through the boldness and prompt decision of our envoys to France, Monroe and Livingston, and the patriotic foresight of our President, Thomas Jefferson, this great domain embracing over a million square miles now is constituted into great new western commonwealths, contributing so materially to the power and greatness of his country.

Upper Louisiana being at the time of the transfer under a government of its own, though a subsidiary one, it was incumbent upon Laussat to formally take over from the Spanish lieutenant-governor at St. Louis the part of the province over which the latter exercised authority. Instead, however, of going up the river in person to institute a second ceremonial of transfer, he commissioned Captain—afterwards Major—Amos Stoddard of the United States Army to act in the matter.

Captain Stoddard with a retinue of officers crossed over from Cahokia to St. Louis, made the necessary representations to Lieutenant-Governor De Lassus and received the territory on behalf of France.[1] The next day he transferred the territory from himself as France's commissioner to himself as American commissioner. There was no exodus of inhabitants as was the case when forty years before the French flag had ceased to fly over nearby Illinois, although people here also had misgivings concerning the approaching American domination. A number of Westerners had already moved to

[1] March 9, 1804.

Missouri, as has been noted—and had become naturalized Spanish subjects. They did not hail with entire satisfaction a return to American citizenship, the Spanish Government having been very liberal in its dealings with them.

The question as to the limits of the domain purchased was in after years to occasion considerable discussion. These limits were set forth very obscurely in the treaty of San Ildefonso upon which the American title is based. The province went back to France "with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it; and such as it should be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other States."

Louisiana, as France possessed it, included both east and west halves of the Mississippi Valley; in the hands of Spain it embraced only the western half and the island of Orleans. "When France possessed it" West Florida to the Perdido River had no distinct territorial entity but was a part of "Louisiana"; when gift of the province was made to Spain it was shorn of West Florida, for that portion fell to Great Britain, from whom Spain subsequently acquired title to it by conquest, independent and distinct from that to Louisiana acquired by gift.

The commissioners to take over Louisiana made no attempt to take possession of West Florida. Spain had insisted from the first that this section was not included in the retrocession she made to

France. Seven years after Louisiana was purchased and taken over, the flag of Spain still was flying over the posts of Baton Rouge and Mobile and might have continued so to do indefinitely or until the purchase of the two Floridas, which was subsequently effected, had not the inhabitants of the Baton Rouge district in 1810 under the leadership of Colonel Philemon Thomas risen in revolt, thrown off the yoke of Spain and organized an independent but short-lived State government. Not until West Florida applied for admission to the Union was there a seeming waking up to the old claim which Livingston had earnestly and personally put forward after the Louisiana purchase was closed, doubtless to offset in part a possible loss of prestige in having had to share with Monroe the credit of putting the Louisiana deal over, after his own inability to do so unaided became apparent.

The inhabitants would have welcomed annexation to the United States upon terms of their own making; but their hopes were dashed by the prompt action of President Monroe. In a proclamation he declared that West Florida, as far as the river Perdido, had always been considered a part of the province purchased in 1803. He ordered the occupation of the territory, ignoring the claims of its citizens to independence, and summarily annexed it, to be afterwards portioned out to Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama. That part which fell to Louisiana is still known as the Florida Parishes.

France in explorational and colonial days

claimed that Louisiana extended westward well on towards the Rio Grande, La Salle having planted his ill-starred settlement on Matagorda Bay; the United States acquired this claim with the purchase. Spain in later times insisted that the limits of her Texas possessions should be a line drawn northward from the Gulf between the Mermentau and Calcasieu Rivers of Louisiana, running a little to the west of Natchitoches, crossing the Red, Arkansas and White Rivers to the Missouri, whose course defined the rest of the boundary.

In determining the southwest boundary of the Louisiana purchase, a compromise was reached with Spain as between the Rio Grande on one side and the Mermentau on the other. The Sabine River was accepted by both, the decision reached being incorporated as one of a number of features in the treaty with Spain by which the United States acquired Florida.[1]

[1] 1819.

PART VI

The Valley American

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

AMERICA'S FIRST "SCRAP OF PAPER"

THE purchase of Louisiana as a land transaction encountered no effective resistance in Congress; not so the proposition to incorporate into the Union the people of the acquired province. Said Dr. Eustis, member from Massachusetts, "I am one of those who believe that the principles of liberty cannot be grafted suddenly upon a people accustomed to a regimen of a directly opposite hue. I consider them [Louisianians] as standing in the same relation as if they were a conquered country." It may be said *en passant* that in the course of time these principles were so admirably grafted that Louisiana elected a member of the Eustis family to the United States Senate, his appointment as Ambassador to France following the expiration of his senatorial service.

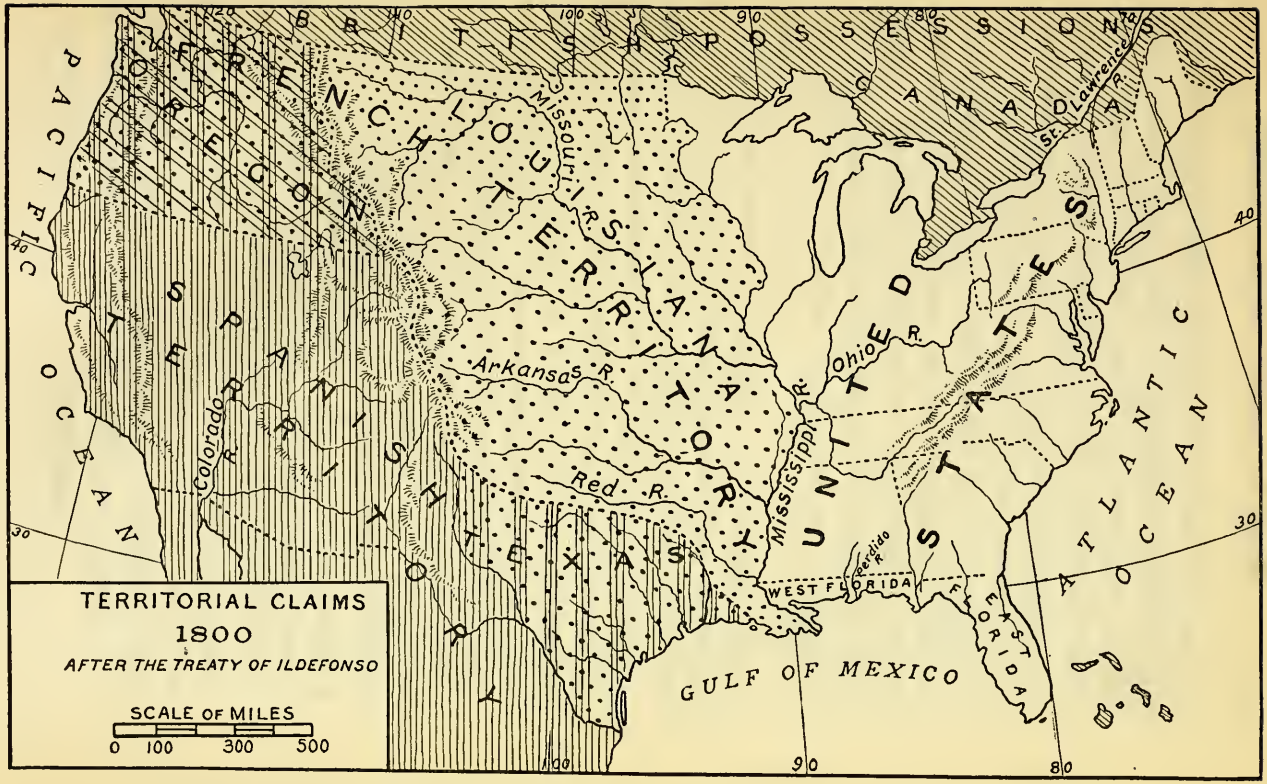
The United States, in accepting title to the territory, had pledged that Louisianians would be admitted to "all the rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States." To the people whose land had been sold this meant that Louisiana as a whole was to be admitted as one

State. It also meant the immediate institution over them of a form of government under which they would derive without delay all the benefits of a self governing citizenship and all the advantages of trade and commerce enjoyed elsewhere in the Union.

Their awakening was a sad one. The precedent of regarding solemn treaty pledges as mere scraps of paper had already been set. The United States seemed to have followed the evil precedent of the San Ildefonso treaty. Instead of holding their broad domain intact, even as in after years Texas was to hold its great area together as one, they found it ruthlessly dismembered with no regard to their rights and wishes in the matter.

Louisianians were *not* admitted to the privileges, advantages and immunities of the United States. Citizens of the United States could at that time import slaves from foreign parts; the Louisianians could not, although slave labor was as vital to the development of their rich alluvial lands as it was considered to be to other sections. Citizens of the United States selected their officials; their lawmakers were representative of themselves; Louisiana was forced to accept an appointive executive, an appointive judiciary and an appointive lawmaking body. Even the legislative appointees were dictated to by Congress, twenty-one specified acts being prescribed for them to pass at their first session.

The first grievance of the Louisianians came with



Territorial Changes Wrought by the Secret Treaty of San Ildefonso between France and Spain

(Compare with map of 1783)

the division of their province into the Territory of Orleans and the District of Louisiana, the dividing line being that of the northern boundary of the present State of Louisiana.[1] To add insult to injury the upper portion—"District of Louisiana"—which had had its own separate government under the régime of Spain, was made an appendage of the territory of Indiana whose Governor, William Henry Harrison—afterwards President of the United States—three judges and a secretary were to exercise all executive, legislative and judiciary powers.

The government prescribed for Orleans Territory was no less an outrage upon those who had prepared themselves to accept in good faith the duties and responsibilities of American citizenship. Instead of becoming, collectively, a self-governing state in the American Union and, individually, self-respecting citizens of a self-governed state, the people found themselves un-free subjects of a near-satrapy; sold, as it were, with their soil as serfs; robbed of the revered name which the "Prince of American Explorers" had handed down to them from a time honored past. As one of America's great historians[2] sums it up, "Louisiana received a government by which the people who had been solemnly promised all the rights of American citizens were set apart, not as citizens but as subjects, lower in the political scale than the meanest tribe of Indians whose right to self-government was

[1] March 26, 1804. [2] Henry Adams.

never questioned." Thus was planted in the soil of the Louisiana purchase the first seed of American Imperialism which was to attain full and rapid growth following the Spanish-American War of 1898.

Consider for a moment the effects of such disparagement as that expressed by Dr. Eustis and such doubt concerning their qualifications as that expressed by Congress in the Act establishing the first government of Orleans Territory, upon a people who had recently been fêted and dined and courted by Casa Calvo and Laussat; who had developed an inner circle of sensitive, high-minded aristocrats, punctilious in their adherence to the niceties of social intercourse and actuated upon every occasion by the spirit of *noblesse oblige;* whose judgment of Americans derived by contact with the rude, breezy, turbulently-inclined, flatboating, patronizing Western representatives of that race who had from time to time come down the river to New Orleans, was that of the Roman patrician toward the invading barbarian. The Anglo-Saxon has always been prone to doubt the capacity of the other races for self-government. But that the Congress of that time should entertain this doubt in regard to a people principally of French extraction is passing strange when it is considered that America's great apostle of Democracy, Thomas Jefferson, drew his principal inspiration from the fount of French political philosophy and that no work has stronger claim to the title of Democracy's

Bible than *Le Contrat Social*, the product of a Franco-Swiss mind.

The Louisianians soon began to voice in strong terms their indignation over the treatment they had received. They instituted a campaign of abuse and disabuse. The first consisted of public meetings which served as vituperative outlets for their thoughts; the second took form in the sending of a delegation of three to Washington to furnish first-hand information as to conditions existing in the newly-acquired territory—to set Congress right as to the needs and qualifications of the people concerning whom such ignorance had been displayed. These three, Derbigny, Sauvé and Destrahan, of polished, suave and exquisitely courtly manners, were a revelation to the representatives of the East who had obsessed themselves with the idea that the Louisianians were all of mongrel type and worthy of little consideration. Senator Plummer of New Hampshire, Senator Pickering of Massachusetts and other dignitaries at Washington entertained them at dinner. Plummer wrote of them:

"They are all Frenchmen. Two of them (Derbigny and Sauvé) speak our language fluently. They are all gentlemen of the first respectability in that country,—men of talent, literature and general information,—men of business and acquainted with the world. I was much gratified with their company—they had little of French frippery about them. They resemble New England men more than the Virginians."

Congress, at the instance of this delegation, hastened to correct itself by approving a new

measure for the government of Orleans Territory.[1] It granted an elective legislative body of twenty-five, an appointive council of five, and all the rights and privileges of the citizens of Mississippi Territory nearby. Thus did American civil government of a representative nature make its first crossing of the Mississippi and as this government was prescribed by Congress, it is interesting to note the several steps by which Congressional jurisdiction over the wilderness West advanced to the Mississippi before crossing over.

[1] March 2, 1805.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

THE GENESIS OF EARLY MID-WEST COMMONWEALTHS

UNDER their original Colonial charters seven of the thirteen Atlantic seaboard States held titular rights to the region beyond the Alleghanies. Congress, pressed for revenue and oppressed by the heavy public debt incurred in conducting the war of the Revolution, beheld in these Western lands an important asset to offset and perhaps satisfy the joint obligation resting upon all thirteen of the States. It suggested, therefore, that a liberal cession of "waste and unappropriated lands in the Western Country" be made to the central government for the common good of the Union.

To this request, all seven States made generous response, with certain reservations, such as the northwestern corner of what is now Ohio,—known as the Western or Connecticut Reserve; the section immediately south of the river Ohio which was Virginia's District of Kentucky, and an area north of the Ohio reserved by Virginia for bestowal as a reward for services upon the participants of the

George Rogers Clark expedition. Congress thus acquired titular rights to lands forming the eastern half of the Mississippi Valley, which rights were further confirmed after a long series of treaties whereby the original Indian titles to certain areas were extinguished and their Indian occupants moved west of the Mississippi.

With the acquirement of title from the several States and before the Indian titles were extinguished Congress began to establish political jurisdiction over the region acquired. Three territories were constituted out of the ceded domain. The first of these was the "Territory North-west of the river Ohio," extending from the western boundary of Pennsylvania to the Mississippi and from the Ohio to the Lakes and Canadian boundary line. This area was ceded by the States of Virginia, Connecticut, New York and Massachusetts, though Virginia's claim to exclusive jurisdiction over the territory by virtue of her original charter of 1609 and the conquest of the territory by her troops under George Rogers Clark could have been well maintained.

The second territory constituted was the "Territory South of the river Ohio" formed from the North Carolina cession and embracing practically the area of the present State of Tennessee. The third territory, organized ten years after the first, was the Territory of Mississippi, embracing first the lower halves of the present States of Alabama and Mississippi to which were afterwards added

the upper halves—Georgia's and South Carolina's share in the general cession.

Plans for the division and government of the ceded area lying north of the Ohio before it was constituted into the Northwest Territory gave rise to much debate in Congress. The first proposition was to run a line north from the "Falls of the Ohio" and another north from the mouth of the Great Kanawha River, both to extend to the Lakes or to the Canada boundary line. This divided the territory into two long strips and one short one. The two long strips were each to be cut into eight States; the short, narrow strip south of Lake Erie, and adjoining Pennsylvania, was to constitute one State, making seventeen States in all. This proposition had few supporters.

Thomas Jefferson then headed a committee to prepare a plan of government and provide for a more acceptable division. The report of this committee also recommended three tiers of States with the same north-and-south dividing lines as already suggested, but reduced the number of States proposed, from seventeen to ten, each to be, as nearly as possible, two degrees of latitude in width from north to south and extending across its respective tier from east to west. The committee even specified the name by which each was to be designated. With the seriousness of pedants, they drew these names from Latin, Greek and Indian sources and applied them with due regard to their own ideas of fitness.

The lower peninsula of Michigan being an entity of itself, was to be the State of Cherronesus, recalling a famous physiographic division of ancient Greece. Starting at the north of the westernmost tier there was to be, first, the State of Sylvania—the forest state—extending from the Lake of the Woods on the north to the 45th parallel of latitude on the south. This took in northeast Minnesota, the upper peninsula of Michigan and upper Wisconsin.

South of Sylvania, with Lake Michigan on one side and the Mississippi on the other, and between parallels 45 and 43, would be known as the State of Michigania. South of Michigania down to the 41st parallel would be the State of Assenisipia—from Assenisipi, the Indian name for Rock River. South of Assenisipia down to the 39th parallel would be the State of Illinoia. South of Illinoia to the Ohio River was not sufficient territory to make up the specified two-degree width, so a corresponding part of the next tier to the east was added, to form the strip-like State of Polypotamia—the State of many waters, because of the many tributaries of the Ohio and Mississippi flowing through its area. East of Polypotamia lying along the Ohio was to be the State of Pelipsipia—from Pelipsipi, the Cherokee name for the Ohio River.

The second or middle tier, omitting Michigan or "Cherronesus," had, first, the State of Metropotamia—mother of waters—situated east of Assenisipia and along Lake Erie. Its name was significant

of its giving rise to many rivers flowing northward and southward from its "divide." South of Metropotamia and east of Illinoia was to be the State of Saratoga,—complimentary of the great victory in the war of the Revolution, many of whose veterans were to become pioneers to this section. Touching Saratoga on the south and extending to the Ohio was the eastern part of Polypotamia and the State of Pelipsipia as already mentioned. The short, narrow easternmost tier lying next to Pennsylvania from the Ohio northward was to constitute the State of Washington.

If the report of the committee had been adopted and put into effect, think for a moment of the additional burden it would have put upon generations of school children learning their three R's in the "little red schoolhouse" all over the land. Five extra States, aside from those constituted, would have been added to the maps studied, and, under the old dispensation, each class in geography was faithfully taught to "bound each State and tells its capital."

Assenisipia? Assenisipia is bounded on the north by Michigania; on the east by Lake Michigan and Metropotamia; on the south by Illinoia; on the west by the Mississippi River: Capital, what? Chicago? Milwaukee? Both would have been in the proposed State.

And the Western preacher who always brought "Mesopotamia" into his sermon because, as he explained, it was such an impressive word and

rolled so melodiously off the tongue. How he would have reveled in his orotund repetitions, "When *I* was down in Poly-po-*ta*-mia etc.!" Think also of the averted fate of St. Paul's being located in Michigania; Detroit in Cherronesus; Cleveland, in Metropotamia; Cincinnati in Pelipsipia! Could there have been any "Illinoia or Saratoga School" of poets and novelists, as afterwards arose in Indiana?

The report of the committee was rejected in part and all names struck out. The substance of Jefferson's plan of government was, however, adopted. It was decided to administer the territory as a whole. In time, when it was finally divided into States, Virginia's original wishes seem to have been complied with and that was, the territory ceded by her was to be formed into not less than three nor more than five States, lines drawn northward from the Wabash and Miami rivers to constitute boundaries.

The ordinance drawn up by Thomas Jefferson and adopted by Congress for the government of this northwestern area of ceded territory is known by the year of its adoption as the Ordinance of 1787. It is a very significant document among the many that have had important bearings upon American affairs. Perhaps in importance as affecting subsequent events, it is out-ranked by only three other American State papers—the Virginia Bill of Rights, the American Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution.

The Ordinance of 1787 embodied the ideas of early American lawmakers as to how sparsely settled distant regions owned by the United States should be governed. It fathered a long succession of territorial governments,—to each of which it bequeathed and transmitted forms, provisions, concessions and guarantees. It not only carried the jurisdiction of the U. S. to the Mississippi River but it stenciled its pattern upon territorial governments beyond. It is specially distinguished as embodying the first geographical restriction to the American institution of slavery, prohibiting same, for all time in the Northwest Territory. It also embodied the National government's first practical recognition of the needs of public education, for by its provisions a portion of the public domain was set aside for public school purposes—the sixteenth section of every township.

The government as organized under the Ordinance of 1787 consisted of a Governor serving three years; a Secretary serving four years and three judges serving "during good behavior." These officers were all appointive, first by Congress before the Federal Government came into existence, then by the President of the United States.

It was ordained that when the territory should reach a population of five thousand male inhabitants of legal age and citizenship it would be given legislative privileges. These were to be exercised by a General Assembly consisting of a Legislative Council and a House of Representatives. The

Council was to consist of five members, serving five years, appointed by Congress from a list of ten recommended by the Territorial House of Representatives. The Representatives were to be elected by the voters of the Territory, to serve two years, and their number was fixed at one for every five hundred voters until the limit of twenty-five members was reached, after which the legislature itself would have all powers of apportionment and of determining the number of representatives to serve.

The position of Secretary was a unique one. He not only kept the public records and performed the duties usual to a Secretary of State of the present day, but he kept tab on the acts of the other officials and reported thereon every six months to Congress or the President. His term over-lapped the governor's by one year, presumably to give him an opportunity to advise or coach the gubernatorial successor before himself going out of office. The features of a four-year secretary and a three-year governor, a judiciary of three and a five-thousand-population requirement before the privilege of electing territorial lawmakers, could be exercised —a privilege which constituted a basic feature of self-government according to the American idea— reappeared in each of a line of territorial governments that followed, so as to become with repetitions almost institutional.

The territory south of the River Ohio, the second territory to be formed, was of compara-

tively short duration. At the time of the cession it had already received a large number of settlers and was soon given statehood as Tennessee. The history of the organization of Mississippi Territory is interesting, first, because of the direct descent of its government from that of the Northwest Territory, it being the third territory to be formed from the ceded lands in the West; and, second, because in connection with the establishment of this government was fought one of the very earliest political battles in the West, showing how watchful were the people of that area of any usurpation of authority or infringement upon their rights. This was precipitated by the action of the first constituted authorities of the Territory.

Winthrop Sargent had been transferred from the post of secretary of the Northwest Territory and was appointed as governor when the Mississippi Territory was formed. He and the three judges who exercised legislative prerogatives until such time as the five-thousand-population requirement should be met, passed laws that aroused much indignation among the residents of the territory, many of whom were Americans from the older section. The most obnoxious of these laws provided for the levying of illegal fees, to the personal and financial benefit of the Governor, for performing duties covered by his salary. As a result of the general indignation that was aroused, and of the protest that went to Washington, the governor was removed and an elective legislative department was

installed at once, to consist, until the five-thousand-population point was reached, of nine members,—four from the County of Adams, four from Pickering and one from the Tombigbee and Tensaw settlements. In 1817 the Alabama portion of Mississippi Territory was set off to itself.

The first dividing up of the Northwest Territory was when the larger part of its area was set off as Indiana Territory,[1] with Vincennes as capital. The dividing line was that beginning at a point on the Ohio opposite the mouth of the Kentucky River and running northward to the Lakes and the Canadian boundary. This left what is now Ohio and a north-and-south strip in eastern Michigan, to continue as the "Territory North of the River Ohio" with its capital fixed at Chillicothe.

Ohio becoming a state[2] with its boundaries as now, the Territory of Michigan came into existence.[3] Then Indiana Territory suffered a second depletion when the Territory of Illinois, with Kaskaskia as capital, was taken from it, the Wabash being the dividing line.[4] When Illinois became a State[5] with its limits as now, the northern portion once included under its territorial jurisdiction was added to Michigan to be again separated eighteen years after as the Territory of Wisconsin.[6]

In all the Acts establishing this succession of subdivisions of the Northwest Territory, it was specified respectively that the inhabitants were to enjoy

[1] May 7, 1800. [2] 1803. [3] January 11, 1805.
[4] February 3, 1809. [5] December 3, 1818. [6] April 30, 1836.

all the rights, privileges and advantages granted to and secured to the people of the original "Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio" by the Ordinance of 1787.

The salient features, as noted, were repeated until the time came to institute the territory of Wisconsin (April 30, 1836). Then it was that a territory of the United States was given for the first time a judiciary system, which in its completeness and thorough organization would suit admirably the needs of a full fledged State,—Supreme, District and Probate Courts, Justices of the Peace, Territorial Attorney, Marshal, etc.

As to the section west of the Mississippi embraced within the Louisiana purchase, the primary division into Orleans Territory and the District of Louisiana has already been referred to. The "District" as an appendage of the Territory of Indiana existed but a year when it was changed to the "Territory of Louisiana"[1] with the regulation governor, secretary and three judges but no provision made for a representative assembly,—the governor and judges together exercising legislative functions. General James Wilkinson was appointed Governor, Dr. Joseph Browne—brother-in-law of Aaron Burr—Secretary and J. B. C. Lucas, John Coburn and Rufus Easton, the three judges.

In 1812 a decided advance was made from the provincial type. The Territory of Louisiana became the Territory of Missouri, as the name of

[1] March 2, 1805.

"Louisiana" had been appropriated by the State formed in that year from Orleans Territory. Missouri Territory was accorded a lawmaking General Assembly of nine Legislative Councillors and a House of Representatives, pro-rated one member to each five hundred free, white male inhabitants. Its Governor was William Clark of Lewis-and-Clark fame. Seven years after[1] the southern portion of Missouri Territory was set off as Arkan*saw* Territory with seat of government at Arkansas Post. General James Miller of New Hampshire, the "I'll try, sir" hero of Lundy's Lane was appointed first governor of Arkansas Territory and Robert Crittenden of Kentucky, first Secretary. The first seat of government was the old settlement of Arkansas Post founded by Tonti. The areas now covered by the States of Iowa and Minnesota were set apart after the Territory of Missouri was formed, and up to the time they were accorded territorial government of their own, were included in the jurisdiction first of Michigan Territory, next of Wisconsin Territory. Further reference to them will be found elsewhere.

[1] March 2, 1819.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

AN EARLY AMERICAN MELTING POT

SARGENT when deposed was succeeded as Governor of the Territory of Mississippi by William Charles Cole Claiborne, who is described by one of Mississippi's historians as "the knightliest figure in all our history, combining as he did the wisdom of Oglethorpe, the benevolence of Penn and the undaunted courage of America's foremost colonial heroes."

Although his name is but little known except to the student of the Valley's history, yet his career from beginning to end will well repay study as furnishing an example not only of what American genius can do when given American opportunities, but of how men qualified for leadership found these opportunities in the West of that early pioneer period. It certainly is not due to any lack upon his part that he is not better known, or that what he accomplished is not more fully set forth in the annals of American statesmanship. It is probably more due to the fact that the lines of his destiny were cast in places far removed and comparatively little known. Otherwise, observers might have

recorded his works and deeds and thus have enabled the historian to place him in his proper niche in the nation's temple.

Claiborne was born in Sussex County, Virginia, in 1775. It is reasonable to assume that the flame of American patriotism flared at times about his cradle and the reverberations of guns upon Revolutionary battlefields must have been his to hear in spirit if not in fact during his early boyhood. He was born to that poverty which ever serves as a spur to the ambitious. His sixteenth birthday found him in New York City, then the capital of the nation, a boy of limited education but of pleasing address and of such apparent good breeding that the friendship of many in high authority was drawn to him.

Among those to whose notice Claiborne came at this time was Thomas Jefferson, then Secretary of State in President Washington's Cabinet. Another was Colonel John Sevier, the "Commonwealth Builder" and great exponent of free government west of the Alleghanies. The former befriended him upon several occasions. From the latter he learned of the opportunities to be found by the energetic and enterprising in the "Territory south of the Ohio" soon to become the State of Tennessee.

Following the old pioneer's advice, Claiborne set out for the Western country. He was at the time, just emerging from his teens. On his way he stopped over at Richmond, where he devoted three months to the study of law, a preparation for the

bar which at the present day would be considered rather inadequate, but in those times and surroundings was deemed amply sufficient when sustained by keen intelligence, dignified bearing and, above all, by personal courage. Speaking of him at this time, Governor Blount of the Territory said, "He is the most remarkable man I ever met. If he lives to attain the age of fifty nothing can prevent him from becoming one of the most distinguished political characters of America."

Tennessee was ready for Statehood about the time of Claiborne's advent. Although but twenty-one years of age at the time, he was elected a member of the first constitutional convention. With the organization of the State, Sevier was chosen the first Governor of Tennessee, and one of the first acts of the first Legislature was to elect young Claiborne to the highest office at its disposal,—Judge of the Superior Court of Law and Equity. In the short time he served on the bench he won the esteem and admiration of the bar, many of whose members attained subsequent national celebrity, most of whom were his seniors in age and experience. His judicial career, however, was brief, for he was soon elected to Congress.

Here it was that Claiborne, the brilliant young Congressman, repaid the kindness and encouragement shown to Claiborne, the struggling youth. Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr had received the same number of votes for the Presidency. Congress was called upon to decide between the two.

Claiborne stood unswervingly for the "Sage of Monticello" in the face of all overtures from the opposition and practically cast the deciding ballot that made Jefferson President.

Claiborne, thus far, had rendered service in the judiciary and legislative departments of government. He was now to serve in the executive. Far to the southwest, the Territory of Mississippi had been formed with Winthrop Sargent as Governor, as has been stated. When the demand for Sargent's removal arose and was acceded to, Jefferson selected Claiborne for the important trust of bringing harmony and contentment to the dissatisfied residents and restore to order the temporary chaos of protest and opposition to authority there existing.

Claiborne arrived at Natchez, November 23, 1801, and at once entered upon the duties of his office. The various histories of Mississippi unite in tribute to the very able manner in which he administered affairs. His stay, however, was all too short to satisfy the many friends he made there, for he was called upon to undertake the delicate mission of representing the Federal Government in the formal ceremony of transfer by which Louisiana came under the dominion of the United States. His was also the duty to establish American authority over the purchased region, as its first appointed Governor.

The purchase of Louisiana gave to the United States its first problem of expansion. The action

of Congress in legislating for a distant and underrated people was a step towards imperialism. If the historian of the future be called upon to analyze and to trace to their origin two political ideas which the founders of the Republic never had in mind—expansion and imperialism—he will find the root points of both buried in the soil of the Louisiana Purchase.

For the United States acquired with Louisiana something more than an increase of territory. There came with the land a people faithful to older ties and indifferent to the newer; a people high tensioned with the pride of race, watchful of slight, sensitive to every semblance of disparagement, humiliated by the fact of having been sold with the soil as serfs.

To govern a people foreign in thought to those of the rest of the Union, a people sullen with the sense of a just grievance against the authority he represented; to educate and instruct this people in the ways of the hated Anglo-Saxon and establish over them with as little friction as possible a form of government radically different from the Latin polity to which they had been reared, these were the tasks imposed upon Claiborne when the Administration at Washington sent him from Mississippi to Louisiana. Rare, indeed, must have been his insight, infinite his tact to have succeeded as he did in softening asperities, harmonizing discords and bringing about a true union of sentiment between Louisiana and the rest of the country. He

lived to see animosity die out, sullenness turned to smiles, hate and disapproval change to esteem and admiration. He was not of the people's selection when he entered upon the duties of his administrative office; but he was their choice when they had the privilege of electing the first Governor of their State.

Americanism seems to have been the keynote to Claiborne's character. His legislative messages approach intensity of feeling in his frequent references to the blessings of civil liberty as established by "the fathers of our country," "the illustrious founders of the Republic," etc. They are held in continuity by a chain of adjurations to the people to conserve and perpetuate the institutions of free government. They furnish a course of specific instruction in the science of government according to American interpretation. They point out the necessity for education, liberalmindedness and culture.

The representatives of a free State [said he in his farewell message], should consider the diffusion of knowledge as an object of primary importance. . . . They should give publicity to the character which defines with accuracy and allots with precision the powers of the different branches of government; to the laws severally enacted, and to the various subjects which, from time to time, may occupy their deliberations. But of all things care should be taken to rear their youth into paths of virtue, science and patriotism, that those who are to succeed to independence and self-government may know how to estimate, how to use, and how to conserve their great heritage.

These are the words of a statesman and a patriot, spoken more than one hundred years ago, as applicable to-day to the alien in our midst whose Americanization we are seeking to bring about as they were when first spoken. For be it remembered that the lower Valley of that time was a melting pot into which the polyglot went in and the American came out. The elements of population were of greater variety than that which characterized any other section of the United States. For to the descendants of the original French and Canadian settlers had been added from time to time Acadians, Malagan and Catalonian Spaniards, Germans, French Revolutionary and San Domingo refugees, Canary Islanders or Isleños, with a sprinkling of English and several types of Americans.

Every social grade was represented from half-savage boatmen and hermit herdsmen of the interior prairies to the chevaliers, counts, barons and marquises of the most elegant nobility of Europe. It is not surprising then that a pot with such racial contents should sputter and boil over at times under the heat of political controversy and partisan debate; that years would have to elapse before there could be even an approach to a homogeneity of community aims, efforts, interests and desires. Claiborne found the solution to America's first problem of expansion, discovered the way to deal with foreign and alien peoples when these were taken under the ægis of the United States. His

solution lay along the lines of tact, instruction, sympathy and gradual assimilation, with the emphasis on instruction. His methods were those of justice, understanding and the "square deal."

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

THE SPREADING WAVE SPEEDS ON

IN the year that the Federal Union of thirteen States was completed and Washington was serving his first year as President (1790), the population of the United States was approximately four million. Of this number less than five per cent were living west of the Appalachian Mountains.

Aside from the settlements of East Tennessee which were more or less extensions of those of the back counties of Virginia and North Carolina, the populated areas of marked extent west of the mountains, and belonging to the United States, were three in number. The first covered some twelve thousand square miles in the mid-region of Kentucky, no part of which had a greater density of population than an average of eighteen persons to the square mile. The second was an area on both sides of the Cumberland in middle Tennessee, of twelve hundred square miles, with an average density of population of less than six. The third lay along the banks of the Ohio and Great Kanawha Rivers in what is now West Virginia, covering about eight hundred square miles, with an average

density of population somewhat less than that of the Cumberland settlements.

There were also three inhabited areas of lesser extent. One lay along the Mississippi in southwest Illinois—remnants of the old French settlements with a few English and American additions. A second was around Vincennes, Indiana, with a population similar to that of the Illinois settlements but with the American element more in evidence. A third was in southeastern Ohio where, in 1788, General Rufus Putnam of Revolutionary war fame and his "Ohio Company of Associates" had planted the town of Marietta—the first pioneer settlement in Ohio.

Marietta, however, antedated the beginnings of Cincinnati by only a couple of months. It is recorded that John Cleve Symmes, a wealthy Jerseyman, bought a large tract of land in what is now the southwest part of Ohio, for speculative purposes. The site of the present city of Cincinnati was sold by Symmes to Mathias Denman, who associated with himself Robert Patterson and John Filson, assigning to each a one third interest. Filson was an ex-schoolmaster and, as an original contributor to geographical nomenclature, seemed to have gone the old Jeffersonian State-naming Committee one better. "Losantiville" was his creation,—*L* for Licking; *os*, meaning opening or mouth; *anti*, against or opposite; *ville*, town—the town opposite the mouth of the Licking River. It did not retain this name very long, however, for

General St. Clair, Governor of the Northwest Territory at the time, changed it to Cincinnati, after a newly organized secret fraternal order of Revolutionary War veterans.

It is to be noted that in addition to these six definite areas of occupation there were also several distant outlying posts such as Detroit, Mackinaw, Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, and a scattering of isolated blockhouse communities—salients thrust into the wilderness to stem the tide of Indian attack.

No fiercer contest for possession of the soil was ever fought between races than that waged in the early pioneer days between the whites and Indians of the Northwest Territory. The settlers of Kentucky and Tennessee by the time Ohio began to be occupied were in position to deal retaliatory blows for every attack made by Indian raiders from north of the Ohio or south of Tennessee. But the settlers north of the Ohio were upon the home ground of fierce and warlike tribes, were open to direct attack and continual harassment and were ever compelled to be alertly on the defensive.

Moreover, the Kentuckians and Tennesseeans were of a general type that had fought the wilderness and its dangers for generations, while on the other hand, the early settlers of the Northwest were, many of them, from the oldest established communities of the East, accustomed to all the protective advantages of law and civilization. To their glory be it said that they proved themselves

true spiritual heirs and descendants of those earliest of American pioneers, who, after landing upon the bleak coasts and finding themselves surrounded by savage enemies, shouldered their guns when they went to church and bore their weapons with them when they plowed their fields.

Between the years 1790 and 1795 every blockhouse in the Northwest Territory was practically in a state of continuous siege. The Indians were encouraged and aided in their depredations by the British, who still retained possession of Detroit and other posts, notwithstanding the war of the American Revolution had long before been terminated and the agreement to give up these posts had been incorporated in the treaty of 1783 which had ended that war.

General Harmar, attempting to put an end to the intolerable conditions prevailing, was defeated in battle with the Indians in the Maumee country (1790). General St. Clair with a poorly equipped and undisciplined force met with a similar fate shortly after (1791). But "Mad Anthony" Wayne hero of Stony Point, "the Chief who never sleeps," sent west to retrieve the two previous disasters, defeated the hostiles crushingly at the battle of Fallen Timbers near the falls of the Maumee. The Treaty of Greenville which followed (1795) brought a relinquishment of a large part of the Territory embraced in the present State of Ohio and a peace which lasted for some time. It is stated that Chillicothe, Ohio, founded during the year

following this treaty, was the first town west of the mountains to be established without fear of Indian attack.

During the first decade of the Republic, there was a steady expansion of the several occupied areas and an addition of two other population groups,—the Natchez district, and the Alabama settlements north of Mobile, which had come into the possession of the United States by the boundary treaty of 1795. By the year 1800, there were also twenty or thirty settlements, numbering all told about thirteen hundred souls, in the "Western Reserve" of Connecticut along the southern shore of Lake Erie. It was as agent of the Connecticut Land Company that Moses Cleaveland settled in the heart of this country, at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River, giving his name to the city which sprang up on this site. The spelling of the town's name was intentionally "simplified" to Cleveland by the printer who first issued a newspaper in that locality whose headline required the elimination of one letter to fit the space (1830). The simplified form has been retained ever since.

In the decade following the San Ildefonso Treaty (1800–1810) there was a phenomenal growth in the population of all areas mentioned, and much spreading out around isolated posts. With the purchase of Louisiana there were acquired an inhabited strip twenty miles wide along the west bank of the Mississippi from the mouth of the Missouri to a point opposite the mouth of the Ohio;

settled areas in central, northeast and southeast Arkansas, and an occupied territory covering fully two thirds of what is now the State of Louisiana.

This decade marked the real beginning of America's second city, Chicago. As early as 1778 it is stated, a French trader named Guarie had a little hut and corn patch on the bank of the Chicago River at what is now Fulton Street. The first accredited settler, however, is believed to have been an educated free negro, Jean Baptiste Point du Saible, who came originally to Louisiana as a refugee from Santo Domingo. Making his way up the Mississippi, he finally located at "Eschikagou" (1779). He is described as "handsome, educated, pretty wealthy and drank freely."

Du Saible in 1796 disposed of his holdings to a Canadian trader named Le Mai. Meanwhile, in drawing up the Treaty of Greenville, General Wayne had wrung from the Indians a concession six miles square at the mouth of the "Chekagou" River. In a few years Captain John Whistler of the army was ordered to build and occupy a post at "Chicago." He and his son accompanied by their wives—the first white women to set foot on the present site of Chicago—arrived via St. Joseph, Michigan, and found four cabins occupied by Canadian-French traders, each with his Indian wife. The post established by the Whistlers was called Fort Dearborn. The next year John Kinzie, wife and infant son moved from Niles, Michigan, the first white family of a number to follow. He

bought the Du Saible-Le Mai cabin and enlarged it. Kinzie's subsequent career was so identified with the early growth and development of the town that sprung up around Fort Dearborn that he has been called "the Father of Chicago."

Sixteen years of comparative security followed the Treaty of Greenville. In this period Ohio developed so rapidly that it reached Statehood (1803) long before the period ended. But the wave of population continuing to spread northwestwardly soon found itself encountering Indian hostility in Indiana. Here, Tecumseh, chief of the Shawnees, and his brother the Prophet fomented a general uprising. Tecumseh visited in person the Creeks and other tribes of the south to persuade them to participate. The Prophet, contrary to instructions, ventured battle before the return of the absent warrior-chief. William Henry Harrison, Governor of Indiana Territory, who had collected a force in anticipation of the Indian outbreak, won so decisive a victory over the hostiles at the mouth of Tippecanoe Creek (November 7, 1811) that the Indian power was broken. Tecumseh upon his return was compelled to take refuge with the English, serving them well in the "War of 1812" that followed. Years after, the slogan of Harrison's successful campaign for President of the United States, with John Tyler of Virginia as his running mate, was "*Tippecanoe and Tyler, too.*"

The seeds sown by Tecumseh in Alabama soon

bore fruit. Hostilities began with the Indian massacre of Fort Mims, near Mobile. A short but decisive war followed. General Coffee of Tennessee, General Floyd of Georgia and General Claiborne[1] of Mississippi, the last named reinforced by the friendly Chief Pushmataha and his Choctaw warriors, hastened to the scene and each in succession administered disastrous defeats, the battles taking place at Tallushatchee, Autossee and Enotachapco. General Andrew Jackson, commander of the southern district in the War of 1812 against England going on at that time, brought the Indian war to a triumphant conclusion by an overwhelming victory on March 27, 1814, at Tohopeka, or Horseshoe Bend. The power of the Creeks was thus as completely broken as was that of the Shawnees. Direct overland roads to the West long closed were thrown open to the rush of the oncoming settlers, by this twofold annihilation of Indian opposition, while much rich land was made available for white settlement.

Successive treaties which extinguished the Indian titles to lands in Western Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Tennessee and opened the way to the Mississippi River, so that the people of the States of the lower Atlantic seaboard could join freely in the Western pioneering movement, may be briefly enumerated as follows:

1. The treaty of Fort Jackson (1814) by which

[1] Not the Claiborne who had been governor of Mississippi Territory and who now was Governor of Louisiana.

the Creeks gave up a large central Alabama area and moved eastward to Georgia.

2. The treaty of Doak's Stand (1820) by which the Choctaws relinquished 5,500,000 acres in Mississippi and Western Alabama to white settlement.

3. Creek treaty of 1821 surrendering one half of the Creek lands in Georgia.

4. Treaty of Indian Springs (1825) by which all remaining Creek lands in Georgia were to be given up. The western or "Red Stick" Creeks repudiated this action of the eastern branch.

5. Treaties of 1826, 1827, 1828 bringing final settlement of the disputed Creek land cession of 1825, extinguishing all Creek titles east of the Mississippi, and providing for removal west, the last remnants making the crossing to their Western home in 1837.

6. Treaty of Pontotoc (1832) by which the Chickasaws surrendered 6,283,804 acres in North Mississippi and Southwestern Tennessee to white settlement.

7. Treaty of Echota (1835) by which the Cherokees ceded all their lands east of the Mississippi for an equal area west with five million dollars granted them as an extra consideration. The last of the Cherokees, 14,000 in number with their 1300 negro slaves, were escorted westward by United States troops in 1838.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

PLANTER-PIONEERS IN THE LOWER VALLEY

WITH the opening up of a direct route through Alabama, there began to mingle in the westward movement a migratory element somewhat different from those already engaged in the work of Western empire building. The first settlers of Ohio were, as a rule, from the Eastern States. They were of fair education, were opposed to slavery and were for that reason naturally drawn to the section dominated by the Ordinance of 1787. They went West with their destination predetermined, entertaining from the first a fixed idea of making a permanent home wherever they might locate. They were disposed to migrate in groups or colonies, endeavoring thereby to transplant the social atmosphere of their old neighborhood to their new surroundings. Such transients as appeared in their midst from time to time, aside from the land speculators, business-location seekers and curiosity-driven travelers, were people who simply tarried to break their journey to a decided-upon point farther West.

On the other hand the early settlers of Kentucky

and Tennessee were largely colonial Westerners before they became trans-Alleghany Westerners. They included not only the home-building, thus-far-and-no-farther type of immigrant, but a larger quota of speculators, business-seekers and transient adventurers of various kinds. In addition there was an element characteristically impermanent and of considerable proportion as to numbers. It included, first, the true hunter-frontiersman type, men who located deep in the wooded areas where game abounded, clearing only such land as their limited needs required, their log-cabins, a temporary home only, moving when the crowd came or the section became "hunted out" to where they could have larger "elbow room" and a virgin meat and peltry supply.

Then there was the "squatter" type,—adventurers too poor to purchase surveyed lands at even the low public land-office prices, but with hope, grit and brawn for capital. These cleared a holding in the wilderness, "making a living" on it until, in time, came the rightful owner with his government title, to dispossess them. The squatter, however, according to custom, received a fair price for his improvements and his labor of clearing and fencing. With the amount thus realized he was able to make a first payment on land in some other locality for his own account. Here he would go through the same routine of developing his holding, but in this case he would dispose of land and improvement both to a newcomer who had money

but had not the inclination to undergo the preliminary hardships required to bring wild land into bearing.

Sometimes these squatters would be enterprising enough to invest the proceeds of such sales in low-priced mast-fed pork and in farm products sufficient to load a small home-made flatboat and go upon what to him was a great adventure upon a long drift voyage to New Orleans. By peddling his cargo along the river and selling his flatboat at the end of his voyage, an ex-squatter sometimes made a "turn-over" of nine or ten hundred dollars, sufficient to put him in the looked-up-to class as a capitalist in a small way, or to insure for himself a permanent position in some rapidly growing community.

Lastly there were the inheritors of the wanderlust from those forebears whose ceaseless seeking out of frontier and mountain fastness from colonial times down had imparted to their descendants a restlessness which could be eased only by change. These knew not where they were going but were ever on their way. A long chain of geographical experiments had to be performed in the laboratory of their desires before they could arrive at any formula for fixedness of abode. Said one of these wandering comets before he became a satelite revolving in a fixed orbit about an early center of civilization: "I was born in Culpeper County, Virginia, raised in North Carolina, got religion in Tennessee, married in Madison County, Kentucky,

and am now settled in Missouri." The terms in which his spirit interpreted its restlessness, had for a refrain " . . . always onsatisfied with the farming business; always sorter honing arter game."

Or take the life history of an early Arkansas pioneer. He was one of the six sons of a tavern keeper of Buncombe County, North Carolina, who at twenty reached the standard set by the family before a son could marry, which was that he be either of age or six feet three inches in height.

His capital was a "likely" young nag, a dollar "bell" and a good "rifle-gun." He put his wife on the nag with some household fixings, principally quilts and "kiverlids," and took the trail to the West. Reaching the last cabin on the border of the "Indian Country" he went six miles farther on, "squatted," made a crop, and laid up a supply of dried venison and bear bacon.

The Indians becoming threatening in the spring, he returned to his old home but becoming restless for more adventure he again set out, reached the Tennessee River, exchanged his horse for a canoe or dugout, loaded his wife and belongings thereon and began the long voyage that took him to his destination. He did the steering, while his wife alternately knitted and paddled. Fish and game were so abundant all along the way that never a high-cost-of-living problem was theirs to ponder over. They entered the mouth of White River, took the "cut-off" to the Arkansas, made their way up that stream to a point near the modern

site of Little Rock, where they pitched a "half-faced" camp, and afterwards remained.

The wife kept her shuttle and spinning wheel busy. Their table in the course of time held the good things of life, according to their standard,—bacon, cabbage, buttermilk and corn bread in abundance with wild honey upon occasions. The only rule of conduct for their sons that were brought into the world was the husband's admonishment to his wife, "'Tis my wish they never give the lie nor take it."

The subduing of the Creeks and the successive extinguishment of Indian titles gave opportunity to the large slaveholders of the Southern seaboard States to move to rich bottom lands of Alabama and Mississippi, and even farther west to Louisiana and Arkansas. Very little was known in those days about scientific agriculture, soil conservation, rotations of crops, etc. When fields became exhausted and plantations worn out, it became the practice to move to the more fertile, newer regions where the deep alluvial soil was inexhaustible and the returns from slave labor would be highly profitable. Thus there were many movings of planters with their whole household and labor outfits to the delta lands along the Alabama and Mississippi Rivers and the Louisiana bayous.[1] Wherever these

[1] Included in the family estates of the present writer is "the old Calhoun Place" better known as "Florence Plantation," having a frontage of three miles on the Mississippi in the south-east corner of Arkansas. It was brought into cultivation in the early part of the nineteenth century by a member of the famous South Carolina family

planters located, economic conditions were established unfavorable to the pioneer non-slaveholding settlers that had already come in from the various districts of South Carolina and the counties of North Carolina. These were bought out if their lands were desired or were crowded to the hills and bluff-lands contiguous to the alluvial flats, where they became "piney-woods folks," as distinct a type as are the "Crackers" of Georgia, or the mountaineers of the Appalachian highlands, and as purely and persistently "Anglo-Saxon" as these last.

Kentuckians and Tennesseeans of the second generation and even some of the first, when they felt the urge to move farther westward, most frequently took a northwesterly course to Indiana, Illinois or beyond to the Missouri country. There were slaveholders among the early settlers of Kentucky and Tennessee, but it was not upon so large a scale as was practiced in older States, such as Virginia and South Carolina. The prohibitive feature against slavery in the original Ordinance of 1787 would sometimes be evaded by an owner moving to Indiana or Illinois, putting his slave under a labor contract or articles of indenture for a term of ten or fifteen years, before crossing the Ohio. But no prohibition against slavery was in

indicated in its original name. It stands to-day, although cultivated by tenant-labor instead of slave, practically unchanged from what it was when first reclaimed, and is one of several remaining evidences of the westward treks of sea-board slave-holding planters, occurring when cross-country travel was freed of its obstacles and dangers.

force in Missouri, and that section therefore became the Mecca of slaveholders who sought new agricultural opportunities in the Northwest. There were also migrations of both planters and small farmers to the southwest when the Natchez and Baton Rouge districts were opened and the banks of the lower Mississippi became more and more familiar to the boatmen and produce-raisers who visited New Orleans after the Louisiana purchase. In the days before levees, with the exception of a few high spots on the banks of the Mississippi, a broad belt of swamps facing the eastern edge of what is now the State of Arkansas made progress due west into this section quite difficult except by boat up the several Arkansas rivers flowing into the Mississippi. When Arkansas began to fill up with settlers, therefore, it was as an eddy where the tide of population flowing Missouri-ward swirled around the southwest, until direct ways of reaching the State were made more practicable than the slow up-stream one by way of the Arkansas, White and St. Francis rivers. This southwest movement from Missouri was stimulated when the American colonization of Mexico-owned Texas began (1821), Moses Austin of Missouri and his son Stephen being among the earliest *empressarios* employed by Mexican authorities to promote this migration.

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

THE WAYS OF THE WILDERNESS WINNERS

THE Puritan gave New England to civilization; the Cavalier, Virginia: but in the winning of the earlier West, the Scotch-Irish stand supreme. They came originally to America in numbers sufficiently large to make of their migration as significant a movement as was that of the Puritans before them. They were the first venturers into the intricate valleys of Western Virginia; the first to populate the plateaus of Western North Carolina; the first to force the fastnesses of the Appalachians, and the first to drive the wedge-thrust into the mid-region beyond, which, parting the pressure of Indian hostility to northward and southward, gave to Tennessee and Kentucky their places in the sun.

The Scotch-Irishman as a pioneer and empire-builder was distinctive. His inclination was toward individualism. His chief characteristic was assertiveness. His principal passion was for self-sufficiency. His cherished religion was of the somber, austere type, renunciative of worldly enjoyments and invocative of terrors to come. His

colonial and pioneer experiences, however, wrought much modification of these traits. The dangers and hardships of the Indian country taught him lessons of coöperation and mutual dependence such as had never come within his ken before. Then it was that individualism and communism warred in his nature until a neutral balance was struck. He worked with his kind for the good of all; he went it alone when impulse drove and conditions invited.

It must not be inferred, however, that he was alone in his work of Western exploitation. Others differing from him in race, in religion, and in personal characteristics were ever at his side. The Pennsylvania German, the Virginia Cavalier, the South Carolina Huguenot were often in evidence, wherever there was any hewing into the wilderness to be done. Methodist and Campbellite and Baptist flung creed-challenge to his Presbyterianism, in many a Western community. Nevertheless, he was the leavener of the lump of Western pioneer activities. His was the spirit of the West that prompted mass-rule to challenge class-rule to the end that a democracy more broad, more real than Tory or Federalist ever feared or eastern Republican ever conceived, might obtain in the land of broad America.

A broad survey of life and its conditionings in the early West reveals well-marked stages of development and progress. There was, first, what might be called the Era of the Blockhouse through

which every community had to pass when planted in the face of Indian menace. Settlements established after the Indian power was broken fortunately escaped this courage-testing, nerve-trying experience.

These blockhouses singly and clustered into forts and posts were salients thrust into the wilderness to bear the brunt of Indian attack. In their isolation they were as feudal castles. But where the latter were fortresses, fear-inspiring and oppressing æries from which predatory barons swooped down upon defenseless peasants in toll-taking and food confiscating raids, the former were citadels of civilization, protective of the surrounding community, a shelter for those who emerged only to engage in the punishment of marauders or, when permitted, to pursue the humbler occupations of peace.

Following the blockhouse era came the period of all others the most interesting for its very picturesqueness. It was the period when the Permanent mingled with the Transitory, with Father Time working the sifter. It was the period when a community life of scattered units took inchoate form but had yet to reach the stage of compactness, so that labor might divide into specific performances; callings, differentiate, and industries bring workers into coöperative groups.

It was also the period when newcomers were hospitably helped if their home-seekings were not as yet ended, or neighbored, if their decision was to remain in those parts; where distraction from the

business of merely living were so infrequent that toil itself was levied upon to supply excuses for social gatherings in the way of divers "frolics"; log rollings, quilting bees, etc. Men were judged more for what they could do than for what they had. Brawn frequently brawled but good nature and a grimly humorous tolerance more frequently prevailed. Aspirations towards the refinements were as yet rudimentary, but ambition towards betterment of every kind was unceasingly intense. Ingenuity and invention were faculties of forced growth and mental alertness and physical stamina, gingered by personal courage, were developed as readiest solvers of Life's survival-of-the-fittest problem.

The typical pioneer of the earlier West! He was at his best in Central and Western Kentucky and Tennessee and in Southern Indiana and Illinois during the closing years of the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth. He has been described in contradictory terms by a line of first-hand observers with more or less reportorial accuracy. Emphasis has been placed upon his best and worst qualities according to the mood, prejudices, sympathy, tolerance or deeper understanding of the observer. A generalization of terms applied to him reveals more of praise than of disparagement. Such accusatory attributes as "brutal," "over-curious," "trickily-inclined," "extravagant," "boisterous," "ignorant," "improvident," "reckless," "superstitious," "unclean," "intemperate,"

"vulgar" are more than offset by the commendatory, "brave," "hospitable," "impartial," "enterprising," "practical," "industrious," "ingenuous," "reserved," "shrewd," "simple-natured," "sensitive," "versatile," "watchful," "tolerant," "self-respecting," "reverently-inclined" and "eminently democratic."

One cannot go very far wrong in estimating him as an upstanding, self-confident, loyal-to-his-own, able-to-take-care-of-himself personality, in whose veins coursed the red-blood synonymous with impose-not-on-me manhood and in whose abdominal cavity reposed a complete outfit of those organs which in circles of lesser politeness are coupled with take-no-dare courage.

One may, with reason, conclude that he responded promptly to all the influences and forces that operate upon human nature, particularly the elemental ones, giving way to them with abandon when impulses ruled or inhibiting their action when his iron will decreed. One may, in truth, appreciate that his roughness came in part from forebears who themselves were roughened by their life experiences, and, in part, from the roughening processes of his own sought-out environment. Finally, one cannot help but admire his innate ability to grow in grace and develop in his social adjustments according as his surroundings grew and developed. One cannot withhold tribute to the virility with which he transmitted this ability to his descendants. The pioneer stock which grew

such fruitage as the Lincolns, Jacksons and Clays of the West was fundamentally a sound one upon which to bud refinements and graft accomplishments in keeping with the requirements of a more advanced society.

The original pioneer's outfit when he went alone or with a male companion into the wilderness consisted of rifle, tomahawk or short-handled axe, dirk or hunting knife, a supply of powder and bullets, flint and steel, and sometimes a modicum of salt. With these, he won for himself food, shelter, clothing and surplus products for exchange.

His rifle was of heavy barrel but of small caliber, sparing of powder and lead. Waste of ammunition was serious enough to be considered by him almost criminal; therefore, he schooled himself to perfect marksmanship and to accurate knowledge of vital spots in game where single shots would tell. Did a youthful hunter kill a squirrel without hitting it in the eye, he concealed the fact in mortification; to miss altogether was unthinkable.

Wherever there were saplings to cut, bark to strip and boughs to gather, the pioneer's axe yielded him both hut, "half-faced" camp or lean-to structure for his domicile and cushionings of twigs and branches for his sleeping couch. His knife was a veritable many-in-one tool. Its use in skinning and pelt scraping gave him his buck-skin garments, his bearskin robes and his coonskin caps; in whittling, his rude household conveniences. Its length and keenness gave him advantage at close range

over animal and human foe alike. Having rifle, axe and knife to wield, he was naturally wedded to the woods, for there he could the better stalk his game, hide from danger, and wrest from nature contributions to his well being. Nearness to a spring, "lick" or stream had also its appeal.

Did his wife or family accompany him upon his migratory venture, his outfit as given would naturally be added to. His axe would then be of full size. One or two handle-less tools, for digging and shaping—the handles of wood to be made later—some quilts for bedding, some seeds for planting, a bag of meal and a side of bacon for emergency, a big baking of "journey-cake"[1] as a gustatory bridge over which to pass to the regular wilderness fare, some linsey-woolsey for clothes until nettle-bark flax could be garnered and the backwoods loom begin its weaving, a "skillet" or cooking pot for luxury, all on pack horse or in primitive wagon, did the route decided upon permit the latter—gave him and his the basis upon which to found their future home where they were to make in time prosperity their own.

Under these circumstances, which called for larger exertions, he sought also the wooded areas in which to establish himself and family, first because of the advantages mentioned, and next, as he looked forward to agriculture as his principal

[1] Although etymologists do not as yet accredit the well-known Southern culinary masterpiece, "Johnny-cake" as a derivative of this term, yet there is good reason to believe it a negro-pronounced variant of the journey-cake of old pioneering days.

means of subsistence after the game resources of the region became exhausted, the soil that grew the hardwoods, in his opinion, was the soil that would produce most abundantly. His first task on arrival at the point of location was to rear his log cabin; his next was to fell the smaller trees and girdle the larger until a clearing sufficient for his plantings was made. Lastly came protection for his crop for which he split rails and laid them zig-zag into "worm" fences.

With wooden, handmade, maul and wedge he divided logs into crude, thick planks or puncheons for his floors, doorways, tables, benches, shelves and bedsteads. Corn being, at first, his principal crop, until the coming into his neighborhood of hand, horse power or water mill, he hollowed himself out a mortar-like "hominy block," swung a heavy wooden pestle attached to a well-sweep device above it and with up and down motion cracked and pulverized the grain to the required fineness for his pones, hoe-cake or corn bread. Acadians in far-off Louisiana evolved the same combination to hull and clean their home-grown rice for household consumption and its use in some parts of that State continues to this day.

The Kentucky settler dressed his deerskins for garments by scraping and smoking them, or tanned them for leather by the longer process of soaking in water mixed with ground oak-bark. He dried and smoked the meat of large game until his wealth and affluence was indicated by a burst-

ing larder of venison hams and strips of bear-bacon. He used deer suet and "bear's grease" in his cooking, for his cabin illumination and in his soap-making. "Bear's oil" as an adjunct to his toilet he learned from the Indians. He was a natural-born whiskey maker, as are to-day the descendants of coördinate branches of his race in the "moonshine" sections of the Appalachians. He did not always exercise his talent in this direction, however, for whiskey was so abundant all over the Western section wherever corn was grown or rye harvested that supplies could always be dickered for to better advantage. And always in dickering he knew the test to apply in order to determine the liquor's quality or price—a small quantity of melted tallow poured on the surface of the liquid tested. If the tallow floated, the whiskey was worth, say, six cents a pint; if it sank, eight cents, the principle being that a smaller spirit content increased buoyancy.

Did the early settler do any traveling, whatever might be his destination or purpose, a supply of whiskey served as an excellent and compact stock-in-trade with which to meet the expenses of his trip, to open the doors of courtesy, to oil the cog wheels of business contact or to cement the bonds of new friendships. When the traveler put up at an "Inn" he took his jug to his room with him.[1]

[1] As a specimen of the broad humor of those early western ways and days that led observing travelers to their pronouncements of "coarseness," there was a stereotyped dialogue, knowledge of which stamped one as to the manor born. It was rehearsed whenever two, utter strang-

It will be remembered that when Abraham Lincoln's father moved to Indiana, after having pioneered in Kentucky sufficiently long to couple the honor of his illustrious offspring's birthplace with that to-be-envied State, his equipment consisted of but little more than a kit of tools and several barrels of whiskey.

And when community life came in with the arrival of other settlers, what a spirit of neighborly coöperation was awakened in this early Westerner! He joined with his fellows in "house raising," "log-rolling" and other occasions where the individual was helped in tasks too taxing for the strength of one. The toil of all was lightened by the jollity of these "frolics." The opportunity to imbibe freely of "Blue Ruin," "Fool Water," "Cider Royal," "Bug Juice," etc., pioneer slang for the raw whiskey hospitably supplied by the host, probably accounts in large part for the excellent attendance of voluntary workers. Upon occasions drawing large gatherings, he competed with his kind in wrestling matches, horseracing, gander-pulling, shooting-matches or turkey shoots

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ers to each other, were assigned to the same room or bed in an overcrowded inn. "Stranger," one would say to the other upon retiring, "It's been a mighty long time since you and me slep' together. "Yep" was the regulation reply, "Got the same old smell you used to have?" "You *bet!*" "Air you as lousy as ever?" "That's me. Put her thar!" With which the handclasps of mutual and admiring introduction and acquaintanceship would follow and the never-empty earthern jug with its corn-cob stopper be reached for to furnish the liquid for a "night-cap" prior to parting in spirit, each to go his snoring way to the land of slumber.

and cock fighting. In this last, however, he was outdistanced by the Creoles of Louisiana, who had developed the sport into a near-state occasion.

The Westerner of pioneer times met the frictions of offensive contact, sometimes with rough-and-tumble fighting in which eye-gouging, thumb-chewing, knee-lifting, head butting and other infringements of the "Marquis of Queensbury Rules," were permissible. At other times he fought with dirk or hunting knife, which weapon all Westerners of type carried. He was over-prone to dueling and observed faithfully its several punctillios—witness some of the famous duels of Western history, precipitated by bitter political rivalries. Can we blame him for his superpride in his own physical prowess, for his impulse to injure when fired by resentment, for his decision to kill under the hot provocation of real or fancied insult? How often do we see his prototype in instinct but not in directness of method, prideful of what power they possess, pleasuring that others are weaker than themselves, maiming and injuring their fellow man in spirit, purse and person by their price-manipulations, "lamb-shearings," competition-destroyings and trust-squeezings. To each one in his own habitat seems it to be given to man to hold more than his own, to get the better of his fellows, that the car of so-called progress may journey on.

The one diversion that contributed most to the early settler's joy of living was dancing. Both

sexes were passionately addicted to it. Every frolic included it. Every "raising," "rolling" and "bee" ended with it, provided a fiddler could be had. And these backwoods fiddlers, what autocrats were they! And how eagerly hospitality was extended to them whenever they, like the troubadours of old, might wander, for they brought news and gossip which they gathered from near and far and had an unlimited fund of anecdotes and experience on tap.

Word of a fiddler's advent spread promptly around the neighborhood. He was sent for from far and near. He "carried the tune," "called the figgers" and kept up a running fire of witty repartee all at the same time. He bestowed humorous criticisms and advice upon the dancers in succession as they came under his notice. Sometimes he would meet his fellows from miles around in a "fiddler's contest," the palm of victory going to the one who could play without pause the longest, or knew the greatest number of tunes. These tunes often went by ludicrous names. "Soap Suds over the Fence," "The New Cut Road," "Turkey in the Straw" and "You Buffalo Gals" were among the favorites. These contests were sound riots, rhythmic "jags," tonal debauches, as it were, but withal, were they the "Music Festival" of more elegant times in its rudimentary stage. From such primitive beginnings did the Valley grow to keenest appreciation of Theodore Thomas and his famous orchestra and of the wonderful symphonies of the great composers of all time.

But on with the dance! The one most frequently indulged in and the one in which all alike, both old and young, could participate was a so-called "square" or "contra" dance in which the "gents" ranged themselves on one side of the room and the "ladies" lined up on the opposite. In some communities it was similar to what came to be known as the Virginia Reel, giving ample opportunities to each individual dancer to display his agility in "double shuffle," "pigeon wing," "grape vine" and other more strenuous "steps," while "hands around" and "ladies' chain" at frequent intervals would put all into rhythmic, hilarity-creating motion. In other communities it was more on the order of the quadrille that is still danced in Western rural neighborhoods with its "swing corners," "gents sasshay," "do-ce-do" (*dos á dos*) and other "calls" to be responded to.

At the "Falls of the Ohio," now Louisville, a society of some refinement was in evidence as early as 1795, a time when things were very much in the rough in other parts of the West, for Samuel Forman, the chronicler of Ezekiel Forman's migration from New Jersey to Natchez, describes a ball taking place there at the time of his passing through in which the stately minuet was danced by officers from the nearby forts and the belles of the town. In far-off St. Martinsville, on the Louisiana frontier of the lower Valley, the *émigré* aristocrats from France were indulging in the same dance. But what a long stretch of rough wilderness bridged the

distance between these two centers of saltatorial refinement!

However, "the world, the flesh and the devil," under which generalization prunes-and-prisms puritanism seems to bunch all enjoyments of existence in which it finds no pleasure, did not always have full sway unchallenged. Came in time the itinerant preacher and circuit rider of sin-lashing tongue and crude but stirring eloquence; skilled sweeper of emotion's chords, voicer of sorrowing wails for penitence unsought, shouter of hope's hosannas for salvation won. Came with him pulpit poundings, dance denouncings, urgings to more seemly ways. Religion's message crudely given by him was made to fit the crudities of time and place. The camp-meeting then came into its own. It filled a social, a sociological, a religious need for a larger area than a single community. For unlike the dance, which was purely local, it drew attendance from distances of those who would arrive in divers and various vehicles and who would take up their abode during the meeting, in camps or "tents" grouped about a central, thatched and open tabernacle, where services went on, protracted, morning, afternoon and night, for a week or more.

In the intervals between services came the picnic-like meals and feastings. In these, the backwoods housewife of culinary skill reigned supreme and beamed hospitality upon all who would share the bounty of her "tent." O brother of unbounded grace but meager sustenance, hewing your way in

the wilderness of Faith, as were doing your scattered flocks in the wilderness of fact; who in your circuit-ridings over long, lonely stretches found often echoing in your weary heart the old protesting cry of the birds having their nests, foxes their holes, but the Son of Man having not where to lay his head! Now was come your season of physical cheer as well as spiritual exaltation. The gustatory *pièce de rèsistance*, long anticipatory subject of your waking hopes and dreaming desires, is in plethoric evidence around you. The "yaller legged chicken" has been butchered to make for you a holiday. On all sides will you find it "stewed up in gravy" or fried to luscious crispness. Choose, brother, and for the time, turn trencher-man!

The backwoods camp-meeting was an institution of triune function, social, intellectual, religious. Here music took the form of hymn singing to satisfy the soul with sound. Here swaying to the rhythm of hymn gave muscular content with no after sin-sting of the church-defying dancing. Here, he who craved for notice of his kind—a frequent failing of poor, weak human nature—could have the spot-light turned his way by standing up in self-confessing, self-convicted wickedness and pleading for the prayers of those already "saved." Here, for a time, life's dull drudgery was forgotten; interest, sustained; curiosity, fed. The mourners' bench was a stage setting; its successive occupants, actors upon the scene. The "jerks" of those who "got religion" were indeed "action"—absorbing,

interest-compelling. The "holy laugh" from some "elect" who had reached in spirit and suddenness a peak of emotional exaltation, sounding across tense silences, between bursts of oratory, awakened thrills few dramas on a worldlier stage inspire. At some rare moment patiently worked up to and waited for from the beginning, the spiritual waters of the congregation's joint consciousness would be stirred to storm by sudden touch of passing pinions as powerfully sustained exhortation winged its oratorical flight to fervid heights. Then rule, Hysteria and multitude, give tongue, wailing, shouting, supplicating for mercy, Divine but undeserved! Plead then, all sinners, shriek your terror at the pictured tortures Eloquence so vividly conjures! Leap, contort, roll in abjectness in the straw under foot until the peace of reassurance and physical exhaustion shall come to mind and body! For so shall you contribute to the successfulness of the occasion which will be judged in retrospect by the number thus brought to grace and by the extent of fullness to which conversion's record has been fed.

Follow now, adjournment, dispersal—mere memory of rich feasts—physical and spiritual—refectoried at Religion's teeming tables. And time shall pass and this memory become dim; and the old ungodly cravings and world-temptings shall slowly return to be again given way to and to be again confessed at the next camp-meeting. Thoughts and ways and indulgences will be almost

as they were before. But the soil's compactness will have been stirred about starved roots of dull existence and from this stirring will come growth to higher spiritual and intellectual realizations.

CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

WAR'S TEST OF THE WEST

THE so-called Westerner of the early years of the nineteenth century was given an exceptional opportunity to try his metal when the second war with England was forced upon the United States.

Altogether, the events of that war leave little to the patriotic American over which to boast, if exception be made of the long and almost uninterrupted line of victories on sea by which the infant American navy surprised the world. But on land the chronicle is one of wretched unpreparedness; of opening disasters and continued inefficiency; of mutinous militia and insubordinate commanders; of disheartening secession-threats and opposition to plans and conduct of defense; of our national capital seized, our public buildings desecrated and burned and the officers of our national government scampering in hot haste into the interior. In all the military operations confined to the Atlantic coast and the New York-Canadian frontier, there shine over the dark waters of defeat and disaster only the beacon lights of Chippewa,

Chalmette Battle Monument

(From photo by Stanley Clisby Arthur)

Commemorating Jackson's Victory over the British in the War of 1812, in the so-called "Battle of New Orleans."

Lundy's Lane, Baltimore's defense and Fort McHenry's defiance.

But carry the eagle, figuratively speaking, west of the Alleghanies and see it perk up and scream exultingly. True, the abject surrender of Hull at Detroit was mortifying, but the disgrace was more than retrieved by William Henry Harrison at the battle of the Thames. True, the treacherous massacre of Kentuckians at the River Raisin clouded the record of Western invincibility, but the successful defense of Ft. Meigs against overpowering odds by Harrison and of Fort Stephenson by twenty-one-year-old Croghan quickly removed the shadow. The refreshing fact is worthy of note that Kentuckians, Tennesseeans and other Westerners, whether as militia or individual volunteers, never quibbled as to the manner of their serving, never balked at being sent beyond the confines of their State when the larger need of the needy nation required it. Inspired by judgment and impulse alike they went unquestioningly where there was fighting to do. It is due to this Western spirit that we now have in January 8th a day second only to July 4th in its commemorative associations, upon both of which days the American people may well ponder upon the duties of citizenship in times of war and upon the triumphs of patriotism which come of war's duties well performed.

There is no estimating what disasters may have befallen the American cause in the War of 1812 had England from the first been in position to

concentrate her energies upon this side of the Atlantic. Only the close of the Napoleonic wars in Europe with the imperial Corsican sent to his temporary exile upon Elba's isle made it possible towards the latter part of 1814 to release for service in America some seasoned troops whose discipline and developed prowess under the great Wellington made them all but invincible. Thus it was that England found herself in position to embark in a venture almost foreordained to success. This was nothing more nor less than crushing for all time the budding power of the United States by wresting from that country possession of its Valley domain.

The larger half of this area was to the British mind doubly subject to British conquest. The title of the United States to Louisiana was open to challenge in view of the broken agreement involved in its sale. If Louisiana did not rightfully belong to the United States, it was still French property. This view made of Napoleon a bunco-artist upon an imperial scale working an international gold-brick game upon the American republic with consummate success. In either case, Great Britain being at outs with both France and the United States could prey upon this territorial morsel.

If reversion of title were made further back to Spain for France's non-performance of consideration in the San Ildefonso treaty, then Great Britain, having Spain for ally, could well embark in the work of righting her ally's wrong. Easy then

would it be to win the Valley to herself by right of her own, single-handed conquest supplemented by some pussy-foot diplomacy.

The English, moreover, had been led to believe that the Louisianians were thoroughly dissatisfied with American rule, that they were ripe for revolt and that they were ready to welcome a change to British domination. So the forces of England gathered at Jamaica,—troops that had with more or less success played havoc along the shores of the Chesapeake, seasoned veterans dispatched from Europe and two black regiments from Great Britain's West India possessions, constituting in all a formidable array.

None knew the exact destination of this expedition or the first point at which it intended to strike. New Orleans, however, felt vague premonitions of impending danger and was greatly concerned over the apparent indifference of the United States government to the city's need of defense. Only four companies of regulars and half a dozen light-draft vessels, masquerading as gunboats, were stationed there. The commander-in-chief of the Southern District, the soldier-lawyer, Andrew Jackson, was absent at the time in Alabama punishing the Creeks.

How little did the English estimate the true temper and attitude of the Creoles. These still were idolizers of Napoleon, notwithstanding the setting of his star, and it were folly to surmise that foes of France could as yet be other than foes

of Louisiana. However, as danger of attack and fear of capture and pillage grew, it was deemed expedient by the leading citizens of New Orleans to make a solemn declaration of patriotic sentiments in order to strengthen the weak-kneed. A committee was therefore called together. It was headed by Edward Livingston, one-time mayor of New York City, who had moved to Louisiana immediately after the purchase, and had as members Pierre Foucher, J. A. Destrahan, Dussan de la Croix, Auguste Macarty, D. Bouligny, Benjamin Morgan and George M. Ogden. This committee drew up ringing resolutions exhorting all to a unity of thought in rejecting any and all seductive offers that might be made and pleading for a unity of purpose in marshaling every effort in the common defense. The exhortation wound up with,

" . . . the enemy to whom you would have the weakness to yield, would subject you to a military despotism, of others the most dreadful; your estates, your slaves, your persons would be put in requisition and you would be forced at the point of the bayonet to fight against these very men [the Americans] whom you have chosen voluntarily as fellow citizens and brethren. Beloved Countrymen, listen to the men honored by your confidence and who will endeavor to merit it; to the voice of honor, of duty, and of nature! Unite; form but one body, one soul, and defend to the last extremity your sovereignty, your property—defend your own lives and the dearer existence of your wives and children."

In passing, let it be said that in all the time the British were operating along the Gulf Coast, not

one white recruit from Louisiana joined their forces, notwithstanding the tempting inducements and promised emoluments repeatedly held out.

To establish a base of operations, a small British force descended upon Fort Bowyer, at the entrance to Mobile Bay, but upon being repulsed retired to Pensacola. The Spanish authorities of that place, contrary to the laws governing neutrality, were disposed to sympathize actively with the would-be invaders and to promote their comfort and convenience in every way, as the Napoleonic Wars had brought Great Britain and Spain together in a common cause. But Jackson, throwing international law to the winds and loathe to resort to the slow red-tape process of diplomatic protest, ending, possibly, with only a figurative wrist-slapping, plunged across the Florida line, took prompt possession of Fort Barancas defending Pensacola, and was about to turn its guns upon Spanish and English alike, when the latter retired to their ships. It was then that the British objective was transferred to New Orleans, to which city Jackson soon repaired to make provisions for its defense.

A few years previous, Louis Victor Moreau, Marshal of France, hero of Hohenlinden, exiled from his native land because of alleged complicity with Pichegru, in a conspiracy to pull Napoleon down from his imperial pedestal, was a fêted guest of New Orleans that loved everything French and worshiped every French military genius irrespective

of partizanship. A street bore his name for almost a century; many children of New Orleans were named in his honor. One of these was Louis Moreau Gottschalk, the first musical virtuoso and composer of world-wide acceptance produced by the American continent. In being escorted over the plantations below the city General Moreau halted at a certain point and remarked to his hosts, "Gentlemen, if you are ever called upon to defend your city, here is where your line of defense should be placed." These words were afterwards repeated to General Jackson and, it is said, confirmed him in his selection of the ground where fortifications were erected and the final stand made to repel the British attack.

Escorted by a splendid squadron under Vice-Admiral Cochran, the English army of investment sailed from Jamaica, November 24, 1814, and arrived on the Louisiana coast eighteen days later. There was a spoil to be had—more than $15,000,000 of sugar, cotton and other products having accumulated in the New Orleans warehouses during the war. Therefore, scores of large merchant ships accompanied the fleet to carry off these spoils. There was possession of a great domain to be taken and a new government to be installed. Therefore, a full assortment of civic officers were in readiness to fill the political positions to be created. An official printer with type and press to print the orders, proclamations and documents of the new government was included in the outfit. Over all

was to be some officer of distinction to act as governor or viceroy of the great new English Mississippi Valley province which was to realize La Salle's old dream and extend England's power and dominion from Canada to the Gulf, constricting the United States in extent to what that country had once been in earliest colonial days.

Was there any question as to the outcome? Could any but the feeblest resistance be expected of the polyglot population of the lower Valley, with the executives of the distant Federal Government not yet recovered of breath after their recent race from Washington? Could any force the Americans might muster withstand the precise, disciplined, practiced onslaughts of self-confident veterans fresh from Europe's most famous battlefields? Blind, blind, those that see not in past disasters that which presages future caution! And Braddock but a little more than a half-century's memory!

The question was, who was to be the Duke-Regnant or Executive-Earl or Viceroy of England's new India in the heart of America? Lord Wellington was first thought of. "The troops which constitute this expedition," said he, "would have to be very badly managed if they did not succeed in any enterprise they might undertake." So, evidently, Barkis was willing. But Wellington was not selected. Two of the greatest "if's" of history went on record when it was decided not to entrust him with the new American expedition. *If* the "Iron Duke" had directed the English on

Chalmette's historic field, would the Iron Will of Jackson have prevailed? *If* other than Wellington—he being away viceroying in Louisiana—had waited at Waterloo, would Blücher's blunder unredeemed have brought victory to Bonaparte?

One or two other names were considered but the choice finally fell to Sir Edward Michel Pakenham, brother-in-law to Wellington, and one of the most popular of the younger officers in the English service. Of high military reputation, in the full flower of his manhood, he had fought in as many battles and received as many wounds as any man of his age in the army. Fate dealt him indeed a cruel blow when she sent him to his death amidst the marshes and levels near the Mississippi's mouth.

December 23, 1814, sees General Keane and a division of the English army stealing quietly up Bayou Bienvenue, nine miles below New Orleans. The gunboats on Lake Borgne defending the bayou approaches to the city had been swept aside or destroyed. On the same day three English and five American commissioners are meeting in the *Hotel des Pays-Bas*, in far-off Ghent, Belgium, to arrange the final details of a treaty which the next day was to end hostilities, officially, and would have ended them in fact, could its signing have been cabled instantaneously over the world, as would be the case to-day.

Jackson is in the city itself. His U. S. regulars, 884 in number, are in Ft. St. Charles at the lower river corner of the Old French Quarter. The U. S.

Mint now occupies the spot. General Coffee, who by forced marches had recently arrived with his Tennesseeans from the Creek country, is camped five miles above the city. General Carroll, after a famous flatboat trip by river from Nashville, has just arrived at Coffee's camp with another contingent of Tennesseeans. Major Plauché, with the Orleans Battalion of 365, locally raised, is six miles from headquarters doing duty at the mouth of Bayou St. John, the stream that connects Lake Pontchartrain with the rear of the "old" city. A battalion of "free-men-of-color," destined to do valiant service, is three miles away on the Gentilly ridge halfway between the city and Lake Pontchartrain. Evidently, approach of the English by way of this lake is anticipated. Jackson's scattered forces in all number 2325.

Let us attempt to visualize the events that follow. Jackson's pickets at Bayou Bienvenue have been taken by surprise. The English, with the advance guard of their army, are in possession of the Villeré plantation nearby, in whose mansion they hold its occupants prisoners. One of these, Major Gabriel Villeré, is in the depths of mortification, chagrined because of falling so easily a prisoner. He is a Creole and Creole patriotism is on trial. His had been the duty to warn; his now to face for all time the accusation of faithlessness to trust. The fate of the city, of the Mississippi Valley, is in his hands. Desperate indeed is his determination either to meet death or escape. He

leaps from a window, is seen, is followed to the swamps, where he takes refuge. Pursuit comes close. Foes surround him. He mounts to the dense foliage of a cypress tree. His favorite setter—poor, dumb, faithful beast—comes whimpering to the foot of the tree, whining its betraying sympathies to its worshiped master above. Nothing to do but descend, dispatch without sound but not without agony of regret the beloved companion of so many joyous outings, then hasten again into hiding.

Pursuit dies down. The fugitive reaches by stealth the riverside, crosses over, is supplied with a borrowed mount, gallops madly up the riverside road to a point opposite the city, recrosses the river and rushes to Jackson's headquarters. He is accompanied by Monsieur de la Croix and Colonel de la Ronde. It is half-past one o'clock in the afternoon.

The General is occupied with the careful examination of certain documents. The three are ushered in. "What news do you bring, gentlemen?" "Important, highly important!" replies de la Croix. "The British have arrived nine miles below and are encamped at Villeré's plantation."

Major Villeré launches at once upon the narrative of his experiences. He speaks in his mother-tongue. De la Croix translates. The General draws himself up to his full height. "By the Eternal! They shall not sleep on our soil." And again, to his Secretary and aides present, "Gentle-

men, the British are below. We must fight them to-night."

Follow hurryings in hot haste. Ah, Keane, leader of the British advance, experienced soldier, veteran under Abercrombie, Moore, and Wellington! Take now your lesson in the art of war from this farmer-lawyer-general who has never before in his life commanded even a regiment of regular soldiers. Would he, in your place, have paused nine miles from his objective, with no enemy in sight, the original intent being sudden surprise? New Orleans were yours, had you but had the genius and initiative to move quickly when Villeré escaped.

A half a century later the cardinal principle of war as laid down by that Westerner, the Confederate General, N. B. Forrest, was to be humorously formulated into "The feller that gits thar fustest with mostest men whips." The grim American commander is instinctively acting up to this principle. His apparent inaction while waiting for the enemy to reveal his landing place is now a thing of the past. Aide after aide receives his instructions and flies to do his bidding. "Tell General Carroll to move to the head of Bayou Bienvenue and stop the enemy, should he attempt to advance from that point." Bayou Bienvenue approaches very near the actual limits of the city. "Governor Claiborne do you take post with the State militia out on the Gentilly road and repel any attack in that quarter." "My compliments to Major Plauché and request

him to hurry his command to the city and join the general advance." Major Plauché's command covered the distance of six and one half miles in record time. To-day the young aspiring athletes of New Orleans annually on the 8th of January commemorate this famous run by a Marathon of their own over the entire distance following the exact route of this eager-to-serve battalion. "Coffee's, Plauché's and d'Aquin's battalions" continues Jackson, "Hind's Dragoons (from Mississippi) and the Orleans riflemen with the 7th and 44th Regulars will assemble at once and proceed to Villeré Plantation."

In three hours' time the dispositions are completed. The General bestrides his horse just outside the Fort St. Charles gate. The troops pass him in review. First, the 44th Regiment of Regulars, then, the 7th, next Beale's Rifles—sixty picked men keyed up to a pitch of highest daring and eager to play their part, leading merchants, lawyers and other professional men, some in the ruffled shirts of the dandy, all in citizen clothes.

Now the Tennessee riflemen with handsome Coffee at their head march by—563 determined men. Next Jackson's half-breed attendant Pierre Jugeat with his Choctaw scouts. Then, after a pause, come in at double-quick from one of the cross streets Plauché and his men after their long run from the lake, to be greeted with a gleam of admiring approval in the General's eye. Hinds' Mississippi Dragoons next swing into view. Lastly,

the colored battalion, led by their white commander, Major d'Aquin—210 "free-men-of-color," one of whom unnoted by Fame, unrecorded by History, is to be the direct instrument of Lord Pakenham's death.

Thus moves the medley array determinedly upon its nine-mile march. The enemy's camp-fires come into view at nightfall. How secure he seems to feel himself! A fresh English division is arriving by the bayou and is embarking. Deliberation and preparedness, evidently, are the order of the day.

The dark of a December night has descended early. Seven o'clock has arrived and all is well. The Americans are silently taking position. Half-past seven and a shot is fired from the direction of the river. It is from the American schooner *Caroline* that has dropped down and taken an enfilading position. There is now much scurrying in the English camp. The nearness of the Americans seems to be detected for the first time. The British form hastily and advance in the dark. It is bayonet work now—charge and counter-charge and hand-to-hand fighting. Long knives and tomahawks are wielded effectively by skillful Western hands. Fog and smoke blow into the faces of the combatants. In vain the British try to outflank the American line. Volleys of pistol shots and small arms with occasional booms of larger guns are heard in medleys of sound. Jackson is in the thick of it, acquiring courtly grace of body, as he declared afterwards, by having to bow so often

to British bullets whistling about him. Soon the sounds of battle die down. The British retire to their camps; the Americans to their laurels. Wellington's hitherto invincible veterans have been met and have been halted. So ends the "Battle of Dec. 23rd."

Follow, now, a few days of pause and lull. The English bring up the remainder of their forces. The Americans drop back two miles and throw up their famous line of entrenchments from river straight back to swamp. Señor Rodriguez, Isleño that you are, your name is to sound forever down the corridors of time as having had excavated the canal or ditch behind which the American breastworks are run.

Some cotton bales are seized to make padding for the embankment. Mistake. These bales struck by solid shot will bounce about in manner quite disconcerting. They will be taken out, broken open, contents spread upon the muddy ground and made into bedding for the defenders. The English, too, put up lines of defense. They use hogsheads of sugar confiscated from nearby plantations. Another mistake. Wood splinters under shell fire are wound-inflicting. Sugar scattered on boggy ground makes sticky mixtures far from agreeable.

Meanwhile Pakenham, himself, has arrived and taken command. He marshals his cohorts and advances in formidable array. His troops are inspired with the belief that the march to the city

had at last begun. "This is something like," think they. They drive back the American pickets. Opposition? Pouf! See how it fades away. But what's that? Long lines of battlement with guns a-mount and glinting rifles pointing death! Again is action, resulting in progress, stayed. The advance resolves itself into merely a "reconnoissance in force." Ends thus the affair of Dec. 28th.

Council is now held,—Keane, Gibbs, Lambert, Pakenham. Heavy guns have been brought up. Let the artillery clear the way. Ordnance against ordnance fight their duel of January 1st. Ah, but those pirate gunners of Lafitte, risking their necks to nooses in rallying to their country's need! Truly they serve their pieces well! And the gunners of the *Caroline* now doing duty, their vessel having been put out of action! Jackson is as fortunate in his Louisiana artillerymen as he is in his Western riflemen. The British guns are silenced. Uncertainty of procedure descends upon the camp of the enemy. The engagement of Jan. 1st ends with issue still undecided.

Cocky old Cochran of the waiting fleet sends his sneering inquiries. Why the delay? What's the matter with the army? Comes also his threat to send 2000 of his "bully boys" to clear the way. If the army cannot fight, it can follow in the rear of the tars and carry the luggage. Pakenham and his officers are stung to unwise decision. Siege ceases to be the word; storm and further action are now stressed. Fate, guarding the Calendar of Time,

dates a red card, "January 8th," and holds it ready to slip into the slot of direst tragedy.

Command is now, "Make ready for direct assault." To you, Colonel Mullens, the duty of providing fascines for filling yonder ditch and the ladders up which red-coated troops will scale to victory.

Mullens! O recalcitrant one! When charge was loosed and pause was made on brink of halting ditch, and cries went up, "*The fascines! The fascines! Where are they? The ladders! Why are they not in place?*" as brave and gallant men dropped helplessly to doom, did not these cries presage to you the anathemas of all time, that negligence of yours should make a once-proud host creep crippled back to Britain. "Oh, may I live till morrow" cried in agony the mortally wounded Gibbs, "that Mullens I might hang!"

The Americans behind their breastworks await attack. They have now with them 2250 newly arrived Kentuckians led by Brigadier-General John Adair. Only 550, however, are equipped for battle; all are ragged, footsore and limping from their long march. Many of them had arrived in New Orleans pantless as well as panting, the *sans-culottes* portion of this backwoods contingent numbering more than half the force. The needs of these newcomers started swiftly plying needles of patriotic women to work. Eleven hundred and twenty-seven "pairs of pantaloons" were made for them from wool blankets in less than five days.

And now the battle of the immortal Eighth! How often has it been described! Volumes repeat its every detail. What need to recount how serried ranks in close parade-like formation went up against expert marksmen in entrenched, ditch-protected position, each rifle-holder singling out his victim and potting his man as he was wont to do his game in far-off backwood haunts. Not perfunctory firing, this, at wave of sword or word of officer; but studied slaughter. Keane wounded; Gibbs mortally hurt; Pakenham falling from his horse into arms that had caught the dying Ross at Baltimore[1]; regiments melting away as if swallowed up; ground strewn for hundreds of yards with dead as close as stepping stones! And inside the American breastworks how small indeed the loss!

But better had fared the English flag on the opposite side of the river, where Colonel Thornton in a design to take a position enfilading Jackson—possibly to reach the city by a flanking movement—drove back the American forces stationed there under General Morgan. The failure of the main body against Jackson prevented Thornton from following up his victory, however, as he was compelled to join in the general withdrawal of the British forces to their ships, following the battle of the 8th.

[1] Pakenham's eviscerated remains, preserved in rum, were shipped back to England. Such parts as were removed before shipment, were buried at the foot of a pecan tree growing near the battlefield. For years following, the nuts of "Pakenham's pecan tree" went ungathered by the superstitious, who imagined blood streaks into their meats, witch-like record of a tragic disaster.

By the 20th this withdrawal was sufficiently complete for Jackson to return in triumph to New Orleans. Follow, now, three days of congratulations and rejoicings. The 23rd was made a special day of thanksgiving, during which divine services were held, a *Te Deum* sung, the troops reviewed and congratulatory addresses and poems delivered and responded to. And all the while, the white dove of peace had been fluttering on its way across the ocean, arriving too late to stop the butchery on Chalmette's field. The flannel-mouth of Jingoism all but loses its proverbial function to bellow, whenever the War of 1812 comes up for discussion, but Jackson's defense of New Orleans gives it a pleasant morsel over which at least to mumble.

No account of the battle of New Orleans can be fully written without recounting the part played therein by the so-called Pirates of Barataria. These were alternately smugglers, evading the laws of the United States, or privateers holding commissions, as they claimed, from Colombia and other provinces in revolt against Spain. Jean and Pierre Lafitte were the leaders of the Baratarians. Their place of abode was an island almost due south of New Orleans, surrounded by marshes but convenient to the Gulf and all but inaccessible except to those who held the clues to the labyrinthian network of canals and marsh-ways leading to their island domicile.

The English on their approach to the coast sought to enlist the Baratarians as guides and

participants in the invasion under way, believing that, as outlaws, they would be eager to avenge themselves upon the authorities and government that had put them beyond the pale. Jean Lafitte was offered a captaincy in the British navy. Bribes of money and land were also tendered. Instead of accepting, Lafitte temporized and took advantage of delay by at once sending word to New Orleans that the British were come, that they had sought to bribe him and that so far from taking service with them, he and his followers were ready to give their lives to the defense of the city that had disowned them.

Governor Claiborne was not disposed to deal with them but Jackson at once saw the value of their fighting experience, courage and skill in the handling of cannon. He therefore welcomed them. Led by Dominique You and Beluché they served the guns of Battery No. 3, doing such effective work in the battle of the 8th that Jackson was forced to exclaim, "I wish I had fifty of such guns on this line with five hundred of such devils as those fellows are at their butts!" For their patriotism and services on this occasion a full pardon was extended by the President of the United States, to all of them who desired, thenceforth to settle down and lead law-abiding lives. Many of them availed themselves of the opportunity and their descendants now populate Cheniere Caminada and other islands about the waters of Barataria Bay.

CHAPTER THIRTY

STEAM'S SOLVING OF THE UP-STREAM PROBLEM

EXACTLY six months and seven days before the war which ended on Chalmette's field was formally declared by Congress, there occurred on the river front at New Orleans an event of tremendous import to the West because of its bearing upon the phenomenal development of that region in the fifty years to follow. This was the arrival from Pittsburg of the *New Orleans*, the first steamboat to ply the Western waters and to challenge the snags, shallows, eddies, puzzling currents and other dangers of Western river navigation.

Take a map of the United States. Conceive a gigantic right hand placed upon it, palm upwards, wrist resting on New Orleans. The thumb will represent the Ohio; the forefinger, the Mississippi's upper extention to Minnesota; the middle finger, the Missouri; the third finger, the Arkansas; the little finger, the Red. Consider the stretch of country embraced, the breadth of valley between far-flung mountain systems, the richness of the soil, the result of centuries of accumulation. In imagination, as it afterwards came to be in fact, fill this

Typical Steamboat Race on the Mississippi

(From an old and rare lithograph, courtesy of Robert Glenk, Curator of the Louisiana State Museum)

The Olympian sport of racing steamboats was of frequent occurrence in the heyday of steam navigation on the western rivers. The trophy of victory consisted usually of gilded deer horns displayed above the pilot house.

valley in its every part with a people of tremendous producing energy whose products must find markets. What stupendous possibilities of commerce should lie within the grasp of that mighty river-fingered hand!

Nature's intent was that this commerce should move southward when developed. Slope and surface-sweep and network of streams and currents' flow all made the lines of least resistance lead to the Gulf as nearest sea. Destiny decreed that America's greatest city should be that which commanded the outlet of America's greatest valley. The law of the making of world-great cities, formulated in antiquity and applied unvaryingly throughout the ages, ruled unerringly in the case of the city by the Mississippi's mouth.

For this law ordains that where there is commerce, there shall a city be; and where there is great commerce, there shall a great city grow up. And it shall be in choosing a site for a city, small or great, that it must be where commerce altereth its mode of transportation—from caravan to sail, from river boat to sea vessel, from rail to steamer, yea, even from car to wagon. And the city that shall receive great commerce at one gate, conducting it with divers loud acclaims through marts and devious ways and with many writings in its Sacred Books of Trade, and then shall send this commerce forth from out another of its several gates—that city shall have privilege to take tithe to its exceeding fatness. Its towers and minarets shall rise to

heights sublime, its temples viewed from distances exceeding great. The faithful, dwelling well within its sacred walls, shall, self-sufficient, mildly purr, "How crude!" likewise "Provincial!" when it be given them to pass on all that lies without. And morning, noon and night their muezzins shall be, "Of cities there is only one and ours is it."

This break-in-transportation law for the upbuilding of cities was working full time and with splendid effectiveness in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. As receivers, distributors and forwarders for rich, productive, tributary territory, Cincinnati, Louisville and St. Louis were forging to the front among great American cities. Pittsburg stood preëminent as the gateway to the Ohio Valley, occupying the strategical point where long trains of Conestoga wagons came in from the east to transfer their freights to river flatboats. Destiny's decree in regard to New Orleans was seemingly approved of the gods. Successive censuses taken at ten-year intervals from 1790 to 1840 placed her twelfth, ninth, seventh, fifth and finally third among American cities. New York was beginning to feel nervous over her hitherto unchallenged primacy. Baltimore frantically clutched at second, lest this audacious oncoming Southerner relegate her to a place among the also-rans with Philadelphia and Boston. Truly it was a very pretty race for the Municipal Population Sweepstakes, particularly between the 1830 and 1840 posts, with New Orleans

and Cincinnati going "strong" and St. Louis warming up to make it interesting for Boston.

Chicago? Dear Inquirer, Chicago was but a fort and a bunch of huts in 1830, surrounded by mud and marsh so close to its portals that guests of its one hotel had to substitute duck and wild goose shooting from the hotel's front porch, for the game of pitching horseshoes, so dear to the rural heart. Its citizens were at that stage bucolic enough to burst with pride over the up-to-dateness of their newly installed private post-office-box, mail-delivery system, which consisted of a row of old boots tacked upon the post-office wall, not the least merit of the system being the gambler's unsight-unseen thrill as each "box holder" thrust his arm down into the depths of his own exclusive bootleg, with the arrival of each infrequent mail. Mr. Census Man could not even see Chicago until 1850 and then it was with a look-who's-here! expression. What a contrast indeed to the Chicago of to-day, Mighty Mistress of America's Inland Seas where the stupendous energies of the Central West converge and find local expression.

As the century wore on towards its mid-mark, however, the gods of high decision nodded and Destiny went to dozing. Man with splendid initiative took the matter of city building in his own hands. He graved in the earth's crust a water-path from Lake Erie to the Hudson[1] and lo! the Prince of Progress came to the Cinderella prairie

[1] The Erie Canal began in 1817 and opened for traffic in 1825.

and timber regions of the Northwest and smiled. Here was the shortened route to the East and to Europe, without snag, shoal, portage or obstructing current. Here was a vast area tapped, whose climate made for human energy of most untiring type. And as time passed and argosies of soil and mine and forest were wafted over this route, Duluth, Milwaukee, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo and even New York as these cities exist to-day were made possible.

The tentacles of steel reached westward from the Atlantic seaboard cities, setting at naught, by their uphauls over mountains, nature's barrier of gravity. They wound themselves around the trade centers of the interior and tugged at commerce until the river-grip was loosened. And when these reaching arms increased in number and paralleled the streams, then only did the struggle end and man win his triumph over nature in the contest of commerce carrying.

Meanwhile, trade between the Ohio and the lower Mississippi valleys was increasing to enormous proportions in the years following the Louisiana Purchase. It was not long before the flatboats carrying this commerce were numbered in the thousands. An estimate of the amount of freight thus carried may be formed when it is known a flatboat was from 80 to 100 feet in length, 12 to 15 in breadth, had a carrying capacity of from 600 to 800 barrels of pork and required a crew of five men to handle boat and cargo.

During the winter and early spring months an almost continuous line of these boats extended from the mouth of the Ohio down the Mississippi to where the cotton and sugar plantations began. From this point down, these boats, singly and in groups, would turn aside and tie up at the river bank, each displaying on a pole erected at the bow, what came to be known as the Wabash Coat of Arms—a mammoth potato, a large ear of corn, a golden-hued apple and a slab of bacon, *pendant*, with a bottle of whiskey, *rampant*, at the very top.

Often one or two of such stops would be sufficient to dispose of the cargo to advantage, whereupon, were it the time before the steamboat, the owner would dispose of his empty flatboat for lumber, or other purposes, muster into services a pirogue, and proceed to New Orleans for a period of sightseeing or spreeing, according to his inclination. His return to the Ohio River country whence he came would be by *land*—a long, tedious journey, sometimes over an Indian trace, during parts of which he would be in continuous danger from bands of robber outlaws always on the lookout for such as he.

Again, a pioneer merchant or mercantile firm doing business fifteen or twenty miles back into the country would go down to the river bank, hail a flatboat, and, after considerable dickering, would contract to take over both boat and cargo. Word would then be sent to all the planter or farmer-customers of the firm, for each to make up a list of his needed supplies and come with his cotton to

the river landing upon a specified day. The flour, cornmeal, hams, bacon and other articles in the cargo would thereupon be weighed and distributed to the customers while the cotton would be transferred to the flatboat. The merchant or a member of the firm would accompany it to New Orleans and attend personally to the disposition of the boat and its second cargo—a thrifty way of saving on freight and earning two profits.

The profit in raising cotton and sugar at prices prevailing in the earlier years of the nineteenth century fastened a one-crop system on the central Gulf States of the lower Valley that was to operate to their detriment while it contributed very largely to the prosperity of the upper Valley. With cotton at twenty-five cents and sugar at twelve; pork at eight dollars a barrel and flour at four and five it seemed folly to the planters to waste labor upon subsistence crops when it might be put to better profit into the so-called money crops. The Mississippi and Louisiana planters became, therefore, very good customers of the farmers and stock raisers of the upper portions of the Valley, which fact greatly stimulated the flatboat trade. And let it be noted that this trade was not limited to produce. Occasionally there would be a floating dry-goods store, or a blacksmith shop, or a slave trader or even a theater, that would find the drift-voyage down the river exceedingly profitable. An instance of this last was the Chapman family, famous from one end of the Valley to the other,

father, mother, children and grandchildren supplying almost the entire cast of a floating theater, as early as 1826, that gave performances highly enjoyed, up and down the river. Their repertoire included *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Richard III* and a number of melodramas.

But all this immense trade was a one-way, down-stream trade. There was little reciprocity, no return cargo, except by keel boats, which were comparatively few in number and which, to operate up stream, required the strenuous toil of a day to be crowded at times into an hour. Every completed voyage between distant points made by these keel boats up stream against the current might well be sung in saga or epic. Still the use of the keel boat, from the mouth of the Ohio up, to carry the trade rapidly developing between the Ohio River cities and St. Louis was compulsory until the steamboat solved the problem of an easier, speedier method of up stream navigation.

The steamboat was the invention of John Fitch and was successfully demonstrated by him before his death and burial, which took place at Bardstorm, Ky., in 1798. Robert Fulton perfected the invention in its most practicable form up to his time, and doubtless, because of his success in bringing the steamboat into general use, is credited generally but erroneously with its original invention.

Fulton associated himself with Robert R. Livingston, ex-minister to France, in the manufacture,

operation and disposal of rights to use "the Fulton boat." Nicholas J. Roosevelt, grand-uncle of Theodore, himself an inventor as well as an investor, with clear vision perceived the immense possibilities of the steamboat upon the Western rivers. He could get few to agree with him, however, as to the feasibility of using steam propelled boats on streams so fraught with perils and obstructions to navigation. To assure himself, he, accompanied by his wife, made a preliminary trip by flatboat from Pittsburg to New Orleans, during the course of which he gauged and sounded and recorded the depth of water as he went along, measured current velocities and studied conditions in both wet and dry seasons—the first systematic survey of a Western river on record. He also examined the banks from time to time for sources of cheap fuel and contracted for a supply of same to be delivered on the river bank at the needed time.

Upon his return to New York, Roosevelt's report was so favorable and convincing that he was sent at once to Pittsburg to build an experimental boat. This was the *New Orleans*. Its dimensions were 116 feet long and 20 feet wide; its cost, $38,000; its crew, a captain, a pilot, an engineer and six "deckhands."

A great crowd of spectators saw the *New Orleans* depart. In two days it reached Cincinnati and was greeted with an ovation. At midnight October 1st, it reached Louisville, the sound of its escaping steam in the night causing consternation among

those in ignorance of its coming. Here a grand dinner was given in Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt's honor. Here also the boat had to remain two months until rains increased the depth of water at the "Falls" sufficient for the boat to pass over. As it was running the "Falls," the shock of an earthquake was felt—one of a series that for three months was to terrorize the region about New Madrid, Mo., and bring about many geographical changes in a strip of country along the Mississippi for a distance of three hundred miles or more.

The passage of the "Falls," exciting as it was, was made successfully. The voyage was continued in watchful anxiety but, fortunately, without mishap. In turn, the smoke-spouting monster charging down stream inspired the ignorant and superstitious along the shores of the river with a terror that appears to us to-day as very ludicrous.

Natchez was reached with relief. The boat here swung around and breasted the current successfully in effecting a landing. This was its first real test of efficiency. As an old negro on the bank remarked, "By golly, ole Mississip done got her massa dis time."

The arrival of the boat at New Orleans occasioned much excitement and rejoicing. The inhabitants were given several opportunities to take short excursions about the harbor,[1] after which

[1] The writer in the early nineties numbered among his New Orleans acquaintances a nonagenarian,—the venerable Mr. Thibault, who was wont to graphically recount the arrival of the *New Orleans* and his good

the *New Orleans* entered regularly the New Orleans-Natchez trade. It continued for a little more than a year before it struck disaster in the shape of a snag. In this brief time, however, it earned more than $20,000 above expenses. Steamboating on the Mississippi was thus proved profitable as well as practicable.

An important source of this profit was in the passenger travel; $25 was the up-stream fare from New Orleans to Natchez and $15 down. As boats multiplied and competition increased, passenger travel was more and more catered to, until accommodations reached the point of unparalleled luxury. Each boat vied with its competitors to establish a reputation, first for "feeding" well; next, for speed. The first made it popular with the ladies, without a large contingent of whom no trip was socially complete. The other popularized it with that very large element sportily inclined, whose keenest pleasure is "to beat the other fellow" in any kind of a contest. And certainly a race on the Mississippi between rival steamboats was an Olympian event, making all other contests tame by comparison.

The fare served on these steamboats at a time when so large an area of America was still in

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fortune in being taken upon the first excursion. The announcement of this excursion appearing in the New Orleans press of that day was that the boat would leave at 10 A.M. and go as far as "English Turn." The fare would be three dollars. As the boat would not arrive on the return trip before 3 P.M. passengers "who desire to dine before that hour will carry their own provisions."

the trencher-pawing, hands-were-made-before-forks stage of refectorial procedure, was exquisite in its conception and complete in its refinement of service. Old gourmets are still alive who recall with many a sigh the gustatory pleasures of a trip on the Mississippi in the ante-bellum days. Cookery in some parts of the world is an acquired art, in other parts a developed science, but the negro and mulatto chefs on the floating palaces that plied the western rivers between St. Louis or Cincinnati and New Orleans in the old days, had it born in them as an instinct, and exercised their gifts as if inspired.

Following the successful venture of the *New Orleans* came a rapid development of the steamboating industry. Boat-building activities came into prominence at such river points as Brownsville and Pittsburg, Pa.; Henderson and Louisville, Ky.; Cincinnati, O.; and New Albany, Jeffersonville and Evansville, Ind. For a brief period in the beginning the industry was retarded, however, by the monopoly rights to steamboat navigation claimed by Messrs. Livingston & Fulton. Exclusive privilege to use steam in the navigation of their waters under the Fulton patent had been granted by several States, including Louisiana. Under date of March 2, 1812, an advertisement signed by N. J. Roosevelt was published in New Orleans advising, "Persons desirous of becoming interested in the Steam Boats under the patent of Messrs. Livingston & Fulton, which are intended to

navigate the Mississippi, Ohio and Cumberland rivers as high as the Falls of the Ohio, will apply to the subscriber at the office of Messrs. Talcott & Boneis, between the hours of 11 and 2, where the subscription book will be open until filled."

But there were adventurous spirits who declined to pay tribute or concede monopoly to Messrs. Livingston & Fulton or any representative of theirs. One of the first of these was Henry M. Shreve, who had the steamer *Enterprise* built for himself at Brownsville, Pa., came down the river and proceeded to garner some of the profits of the lower Mississippi trade. Another was Daniel French whose little *Comet* of only twenty-five tons capacity featured a stern wheel of French's own device, thus originating a class of "stern wheelers" to contest in efficiency with the "side wheelers." The *Enterprise* was the first steamer to ascend Red River and Louisiana's second largest city, Shreveport, was named in honor of its owner and commander.

The throttling effects of an enforced monopoly of steam navigation became so apparent in the course of time that public opinion and protest soon found expression in a court decision setting aside the monopoly. What would now be called the Independents came into the field. Boat after boat left the ways, some to be designated as "Fulton Boats" as a trade-marked commendation of superiority, if it conformed to the Fulton design and patents. The *Vesuvius*, the third boat to reach

New Orleans (May 16, 1814),—the *Comet* being the second and the *Enterprise*, fourth,—was a Fulton Boat, as was also the *Etna*, built at Pittsburg (1814)—and which was the first to make the successful up-stream run from New Orleans to Louisville and thereby demonstrate the feasibility of establishing regular communication between distant points. By 1832 there were twenty-five steamers plying between Louisville or Cincinnati and New Orleans, seven between Nashville and New Orleans; and four between New Orleans and St. Louis.

The first steamboat to arrive in St. Louis was the Fulton Boat, *General Pike*, Captain Jacob Read, Master (Aug. 2, 1817); the first to ascend the Missouri as far as "Old Franklin" was the *Independence*, Capt. Nelson (1819). The first to make its way up the Mississippi to Ft. Snelling, Minnesota, was the *Virginian* (1823). The first steamboat on the Arkansas River (1828) was the *Facility*, Captain Pennywit, who is also credited with taking the first steamboat into the White River—the *Waverly* (1830). Two years after a steamer owned by Pierre Chouteau, Jr., ascended the Missouri to the forks of the Yellowstone.

These were the pioneers of steam navigation upon the streams of the West, to be followed by the multitude, as is invariably the case when the pioneer points the way. The steamboat, however, never did supersede the flatboat as a carrier of bulk freight down stream. In the year that steamboat-

ing had advanced sufficiently to make possible the ascent of the Missouri to the mouth of the Yellowstone, more than 4000 flatboats, with a total tonnage of 160,000, were descending the Mississippi annually, notwithstanding the multiplicity of steamboats that had by that time come into service.

The introduction of the steamboat upon the Western waters did, however, contribute more than any other one cause to the prosperity of the growing West. It made travel safer and more comfortable; communication more prompt. And, after all, may it not be said that the movement of man himself and the ready transmission of his thought to distances are as important in the scheme of progress as the transportation of his products?

CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE

SLAVERY'S VAIN TREK NORTHWESTWARD

WHEN Hugh McCullough, Secretary of the United States Treasury under three administrations, pioneered to Indiana in 1833 to begin the practice of law, it was with the intention of locating in the southern part of the State. From this he was dissuaded, however, by General Howard, United States District Attorney for Indiana at that time, who said to him,

"Don't do it. There are some nice fellows in the southern counties, but the people generally have come from Kentucky, Tennessee and the Carolinas. They are good enough people in their way but having been raised in the States in which slavery exists, they are not enterprising; their ways are not your ways; you would not like them. Go north, no matter if it is a wilderness; it will not be so long. It will soon be filled by people from New York and New England the right kind of people to develop it."

These words confirm two facts and support several inferences. The first of these facts is that two distinct streams of population supplied the Northwest with settlers—and by Northwest must

now be designated the whole upper Valley, including the region beyond the Mississippi. The second is that there was a cleavage between these two streams, not only in a physical sense but in a near-ethnic one as well.

The first inference to be drawn is that the more northern of the two streams was either moving more slowly or with weaker force; else Northern Indiana would not have been a wilderness as late as 1833, when Southern Indiana was already quite well peopled from Kentucky, Tennessee and the Carolinas. A second inference is that the difference between the people of the North and of the South, as to type, tradition, ideals and general outlook upon life, developed before slavery was destroyed and before a greater homogeneity in the population was brought about, found expression in this double migration to the Northwest. A third, is that wherever the two streams mingled and their variant elements combined themselves into constituencies or States, there should, necessarily, have followed clashes of opinion, heated controversies, strenuous struggles for local political control, conflict of community ideals and aspirations.

The record bears out the correctness of these inferences. Although the Ordinance of 1787 positively proscribed, for all time, slavery in any of the States to be formed out of the "Northwest Territory" in its restricted sense, nevertheless, a large element among the settlers of both Indiana and Illinois, imbued with the spirit of their earlier

traditions, believed that this organically ordained prohibition could be set aside by the sovereignty which, as Americans, they felt resided in themselves. The basis of this belief was, of course, the theory that the State is supreme in the determining of its own institutions and laws and in the enforcing of its own authority—a theory which afterward found expression farther West in the agitation over the admission of Missouri and in the "squatter sovereignty" propaganda when the admission of Kansas and Nebraska into the Union began to occupy the public mind.

The slavery question was the paramount political issue in Indiana up to the time of its organization as a State. A convention held in Vincennes as early as 1802 had memorialized Congress to suspend for ten years the sixth article of the Ordinance of 1787,—which was that which prohibited slavery,—it being held by the petitioner that slave labor was needed to develop the new country. The Territorial Legislature in 1805 and again in 1807 also memorialized Congress in the interest of would-be slaveholders.

A counter agitation, however, was started in 1807 and it met with such success that Jonathan Jennings, anti-slavery candidate, was elected Territorial Delegate to Congress in 1809, over Thomas Randolph, the pro-slavery aspirant. Jennings was reëlected biennially thereafter until 1816, when Statehood was attained with a no-slavery clause in its organic law. He was then elected Governor.

Illinois Territory had a similar experience. The Southern element largely predominated among its inhabitants, but apparently a large number of these Southerners were opposed to slavery, either on principle or because they had come to Illinois to escape the demoralizing competition and class distinctions which slave labor had always set up against the poorer, non-slave holding whites in the South.

A large part of the "floating" population of Illinois, on the other hand, was strongly in favor of slavery. These had lands and farms to sell and were feeling the eager, never-ceasing urge to move farther West, to which they could respond only by disposing of their present or temporary holdings. They beheld in the stream of emigrants and investors from Kentucky and other States to the Southeast, treking past their doors, accompanied by numerous cattle and slaves and bound for slave-permitting Missouri, so many lost opportunities to dispose of their own possessions to newcomers.

The Illinois Constitution adopted when it became a State (1818), while conforming to the letter of the Ordinance of 1787, evaded it in spirit, inasmuch as it recognized a system of indenturing slaves brought into the State for a term of service, sometimes fixed at ninety-nine years, which system differed from that of chattel servitude in no essential detail.

Sentiment *pro* and *con* grew until slavery became a pronounced issue by the time the second

election for Governor of the State took place. It will appear strange to many that the leader of the anti-slavery element was a Southerner of the higher or aristocratic slaveholding class. He was Edward Coles, a young Virginian of polished manners and unimpeachable character, who had for six years been private Secretary to President Madison, had enjoyed the friendship of Monroe and Jefferson, had served as special envoy to the Court of Russia and had, upon moving to Illinois, voluntarily freed the slaves accompanying him, giving each 160 acres of land for a start in life.

His leadership bears testimony to the well-known fact that many of the gentry and large slaveholders of Virginia recognized the evils of the system and were disposed towards setting their servitors free when it could be done without disadvantage to those freed, and without disturbing economic and social conditions.

In the second election the pro-slaveryites gained control of the Legislature and landed their candidates for every office, except the governorship. They had nominated two candidates, with the idea that two could, with more certainty, disrupt the Coles following. This division of attacking forces was fatal. Coles was elected. One can foresee the inevitable consequences of having a Governor of one faith and a Legislature of another when such a bitterness-inspiring issue as slavery came up for decision. Resolutions for a convention to assemble for the purpose of amending the State constitution

to permit slavery was passed by devious methods through the State Legislature and submitted to the people. The campaign waxed hot and furious. Violence, outrage, mob violations of law were everywhere in evidence. Election day came. All the devices employed by election-fixers, ward-heelers and other over-turners of the popular will in more modern times, were resorted to with and without success. The aged and the crippled were carried to the polls. Men ordinarily indifferent to the privileges of the franchise voted for the first time in twenty years. At the end of a bitter campaign it was found that the proposition to hold a convention was lost.

Illinois, thenceforth, was never to be other than a free State. Out of the controversy thus settled sprang Abolition, full-armed, to wage the battle whose final reverberations were to rock the nation's depths. Out of the frontier State thus staging these early trials of strength between pro- and anti-slaveryites arose the heroic figure of Abraham Lincoln, rugged, uncouth, fearless and true to the pioneer type of his Kentucky forebears. In time he was to be the West's second great message-bearer for a larger, fuller democracy, as Andrew Jackson was the first. Out of the give-and-take of the debates precipitated thus early by the issues raised came the inspiration which declared, "these United States cannot exist in peace, part slave and part free"; and which proclaimed Emancipation's immortal mandate that was to pedestal the pro-

claimer among the Royally Great of all time,—even before Tragedy had sheathed her dagger or a mourning multitude had hushed its grief.

With Illinois closed to him, the migrant slaveholder made Missouri his Mecca. He bore with him across the turbid waters of the Mississippi his bag of slavery-sentiment seed to be scattered broadcast as dragon teeth over the land beyond. And from the sowing sprang a crop of contenders for a right which Public Opinion was to pronounce but licensed wrong and which mighty armies were to be called upon to determine which of the two was to prevail.

How different were these slave barons, moving in feudal state, from the restless, slaveless, frontier-tempered, temporary dwellers moving, moving steadily and irresistibly northwestward, from the primary pioneer areas of the Southeast, ever in search of isolation. How different from the thrifty ones moving due west, seeking, not the life of the wilderness cabin dweller and game hunter, nor the luxury of being served on lordly estates by retinues of body-owned servants and sweat-soaked, wageless laborers, but the earned satisfaction of creating unaided out of nothingness, permanent homes and independence-bestowing farms and of planting in the wilderness a community life first cousin to that of the older East from which they came.

The Reverend Timothy Flint, a New England clergyman of clear vision, sympathetic understanding and unusual literary skill for his time, has given

us in his narrative of early western travels (published in 1826), a description that has become almost a classic, of a slave-owner's immigration train moving into Missouri. Says he:

"Between the second and third years of my residence here [St. Charles, Mo.] the immigration from the Western and Southern States poured in a flood, the power and strength of which could only be adequately conceived by persons on the spot. We have numbered a hundred persons passing through the village in one day. From the Mamelles, I have looked over the subjacent plains quite to the ferry where the immigrants crossed the upper Mississippi. I have seen in this extent nine wagons, harnessed with from four to six horses. We may allow a hundred cattle, besides hogs, horses and sheep to each wagon; and from three to twenty slaves. The whole appearance of the train, the cattle with their hundred bells: the negroes with delight in their countenances, for their labors are suspended and their imaginations are excited; the wagons, often carrying two or three tons, so loaded that the mistress and children are strolling carelessly along, in a gait which enables them to keep up with the slow traveling carriage;—the whole group occupies three quarters of a mile. The slaves seem fond of their masters, and quite as much delighted and interested in the immigration, as the master. It is to me a very pleasing and patriarchal scene. It carries me back to the days of other years, and to the pastoral pursuits of those ancient races, whose home was in a tent, wherever their flocks found range. I question if the rich inhabitants of England, taking their summer excursions to Bath, are happier in their journey than these people. Just about night fall, they come to a spring or branch, where there is water and wood. The dogs set up a cheerful barking. The cattle lie down and ruminate. The team is unharnessed. The huge wagons are covered so that the roof completely excludes the rain. The

cooking utensils are brought out. The blacks prepare supper, which the toils of the day render delicious; they talk over the adventures of the past day, and the prospects of the next. Meanwhile they are going where there is nothing but buffaloes and deer to limit their range, even to the Western sea! Their imaginations are highly excited. Said some of them to me as they passed over the Mamelle prairie,—the richest spot I have seen—'If this is so rich, what must Boone's Lick be?'"

CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

FIRST SOWING OF THE DRAGON'S TEETH

UNDER the terms of the Louisiana purchase, the people of the province, guaranteed in the rights, privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, were presumably empowered to own slaves. The first subdivision of the purchased area to become a State had been confirmed in this right, for the State of Louisiana had been from the first a slaveholding State. But when it came time to organize a second State—Missouri—sentiment against slavery had so crystallized in the East that strenuous opposition to its admission as a "slave State" developed in Congress.

Needless to go into the long and heated controversy which followed, a controversy temporarily but unsatisfactorily settled by the so-called Missouri Compromise. This compromise, suggested by Senator Thomas of Illinois and adopted January 18, 1820, permitted the admission of Missouri as a slave State but prohibited for all time the extension of slavery to any other portion of the Louisiana Purchase lying north of the latitude of Missouri's southern boundary line.

The action of Congress in passing this measure affected the political thought of the nation profoundly. It was here that the cleavage started, which in time was to divide the nation into warring camps. It was here that the parting of the ways took place, one to lead eventually to Union, the other to Secession.

Because Missouri had placed herself among the so-called slave States, it is not to be inferred that the slaveholding element dominated her immigration or continued indefinitely to exercise a preponderating influence in her affairs. She was preëminently a white man's State. Surface and soil and salubrity of climate attracted to her the small farmer of the East as well as the non-slaveholders of the South who wished to place themselves beyond a labor competition with blacks.

As a farm hand, lacking as he did in initiative and in all-around agricultural knowledge, the negro slave had long before demonstrated his unfitness, unless vigilantly overseered and continuously directed. He was at home in rich, malaria-infested river bottoms and thrived in superheated climatic areas. The cotton gin had wedded him almost irrevocably to cotton. He had little knowledge of domestic animals save one—the animal whose characteristic stubbornness and indirection matched his own; whose ability to stand belaboring was equal to that which he himself had inherited from generations of ancestors who, since the dawn of history, had themselves felt the lash of task-

masters. Between the negro and the mule there evolved itself a psychic union of mutual understanding, almost uncanny in its nature and workings. Students and delineators of Southern negro life, from Irwin Russell down to Irwin Cobb and Harris Dickson, have invariably sensed this mutuality.

In the days of slavery, cotton, "niggers" and mules made an effective agricultural combination only where the first could be grown to such an advantage as to make of it the one crop justifying concentration of effort; where the second and third could be driven to their ultimate of productive energy; where over all could be installed a supervising intelligence vested with almost sovereign power, denying at all times any exercise of will or initiative other than his own.

Such a system was for the plantation and not for the farm. And as experience proved that natural and physical conditions place definite limits to the so-called cotton-belt, and that these limits could be stretched so as to cover only a part of Southern Missouri, the agricultural development of the remaining portion of that State fell principally to the small landholder,—the farmer and the stock raiser. Soon the migration of slave-owners and plantation developers was deflected into Arkansas, particularly after the Osage and Quapaw Indian titles to territory covering a large part of that region were wiped out.

The Osage title to the greater part of north-

eastern Arkansas was extinguished by the treaty of Nov. 10, 1808,—known as the First Treaty; and to the northeastern section, by the second Osage Treaty of 1818. South of the Arkansas River, title was acquired from the Quapaws by two treaties—1818 and 1824.

When the Cherokees were moved west of the Mississippi, they were, at first, given (1817) a part of the first Osage cession and the Choctaws were given a large part of the Quapaw cession. In a few years both Cherokees and Choctaws were moved farther west into the specially created Indian Territory, now part of Oklahoma.

When Texas became a part of the Union it was also thrown open to this class of immigrant. But side by side with the slaveholder, outshouldering him wherever he went—Missouri, Arkansas or Texas—was the thrifty, individualistic, freedom-loving pioneer, aspiring only to such a comparatively small landholding as could be cultivated by his own labor. These came from not only the East but from the South and especially from the commonwealths of that earlier West when the Mississippi was the westernmost limit of that designated area.

Wherever Southerner and Easterner took up their abode side by side and mingled in joint endeavor to develop a trans-Mississippi community, one could easily be distinguished from the other by the character of his dwelling and its surroundings.

The Easterner built square and compactly, economized on roof and emphasized cosiness and weather-protection. The Southerner went in for space and airiness, seemed to have an antipathy to stair-climbings and therefore wanted everything on one floor. He inherited a predilection for a broad central hall extending from front to back, open at both ends, through which breezes could play on hottest days,—an evolution of the roofed-over "dog-trot" intervening between twin, square, one-roomed log structures which thus united, formed the typical cabin of the Southern frontiersman wherever he went.

The race-memory of the Easterner, unconsciously expressing itself when he built, seemed to be of bleak snow-swept landscapes and winter hardships; that of the Southerner, summer's heat and the glare of torrid sun at noon. The outbuildings of the Easterner's farm were usually of the closely grouped, New England-barn-like type—large, roomy stock protectors and hay holders. Those of the Southerner ran more to scattered pens, shelter sheds, corn-cribs, smoke-houses, slatted stables and open wagon-sheds. Here again his race-memory of climate took form. The Southerner wanted his ample porches and "galleries"; the Easterner was satisfied with a simple "stoop." In the course of time, as descendants of both learned one from the other and hybridized in more ways than in mingling of ideas, distinctiveness of structure in relation to the nature and origin of

tenants faded out into architectural types of lesser significance.

As time passed on, more or less successful attempts were made to destroy the force and effectiveness of the Missouri Compromise in its slavery-restricting provision. The first of these was the Platte Purchase by which the State of Missouri added to her slaveholding area a considerable slice of territory lying along her first western border—territory that according to the "Compromise" was to be non-slaveholding for all time.

The second attempt was the admission of California as a "free State," which admission violated and practically made null and void the Missouri Compromise line. For, extended to the Pacific, this line divided the State into almost equal parts. The prohibition of slavery in the part south of the line was held to be a repudiation of the Compromise.

The third attempt was in the passage of the bill to admit Kansas and Nebraska to the Union. In the area covered by these States slavery, as ordained by the Compromise, was not to be permitted. The Kansas-Nebraska bill reopened the whole slavery controversy and left the decision as to whether their State should be "free" or "slave" to the people of each. As many of the population were pioneers of the squatter class, the vesting of supreme authority in them to make decision established the political doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty —the right of self-determination, even before a

people constituted themselves into a corporate State.

Truly, Democracy, as based upon the fundamental right of a people to decide for themselves the governmental policies and institutions under which they were to live, had made giant strides in crossing the Mississippi from the old territory northwest of the River Ohio, to the prairie regions of the boundless West; and a far cry it was from the Ordinance of 1787 to the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE

THE LURE OF LOW-PRICED LANDS

THE War of 1812 halted westward migration to a marked extent. But with the close of hostilities came a new rush to the Northwest and to the region beyond the Mississippi. In the five years following the war the population of Missouri, exclusive of its District of Arkansas, increased from 20,000 to 66,000 and its organized counties from five to fifteen.

The lure now operating to draw people westward was preëminently land at little cost. The United States government in its disposition of the public domain had had a long and varied experience and was now profiting by this experience to the extent that comparative uniformity and system characterized transactions involving sales and perfecting of titles.

Let it be recalled that the original intent of Congress had been to realize upon the ceded "Western unoccupied lands" in order to pay the public debt. But individual States, having their own obligations to meet, proceeded to adopt the same method of raising revenue. Thus it was the United States as

a real estate dealer found itself in competition with Virginia (Ky.), Connecticut (Western Reserve), North Carolina (Tenn.) and Georgia (Ala.-Miss.), the effects of which were in evidence as late as 1796. Even Massachusetts entered merrily into the game, in the hope, perhaps, of diverting her people from joining the westward movement, by offering land in her then owned District of Maine at as low a price as 50 cents per acre. Let it also be remembered that at this time there was a frontier in New York and New England moving north and northeast as well as a frontier beyond the Alleghanies, which was moving west.

The United States also found itself in competition with various speculative land companies created by its own beneficence. It seemed in the beginning that to sell in large tracts promised prompter realization of returns. So special inducements not extended to the small buyer were offered the larger speculator, the discrimination being sometimes more than sufficient to enable the speculator to price his acquired landholdings to would-be settlers, under that which the government demanded. Moreover, the land speculator sold in tracts, however small, when the government was requiring purchase to be made in multiples of 320 acres. Thus at a time when the price per acre to the small buyer was fixed by the government at one dollar per acre, *specie*, plus one dollar per section for surveying, John Cleves Symmes and associates purchased three million acres in the section

around the present site of Cincinnati at sixty-six and two thirds cents payable in the paper obligations of the government, making the net specie cost per acre something like nine or ten cents. The Symmes Company were therefore in position to sell to settlers at one half of the government's price and still reap handsome profits.

This phase of competition, together with that of the individual States, soon died out, however, and left the general government practically alone in the field. But a considerable period elapsed before the machinery of the government's land selling organization, with its essential elements of prompt surveys and exact locatings, got into smooth working order. A uniform price of two dollars per acre, payable in specie or evidence of the government's indebtedness, was uniformly maintained for awhile. The patronage of the small buyer was sought. He was permitted to buy on a small payment down with liberal terms for the balance.

The temptation to speculate, to load up with more land than was needed, was almost irresistible. As a creditor, the United States showed itself a liberal one, granting from time to time further concessions on deferred payments. It is stated that by 1820 more than $22,000,000 of this outstanding indebtedness in favor of the government had accumulated, and that the need and efforts to meet the obligations thus incurred by land buyers in the West was a contributive cause of the first

great financial panic that descended upon this country—a panic whose effects were most severely felt in the section that had given rise to its cause.

Remedial legislation was attempted with more or less success. April 24th, 1820, Congress passed an act reducing the price of public lands from $2 to $1.25 per acre, withholding credit for any part of the purchase price and allowing sales in multiples of eighty acres. This certainly was giving the man of moderate means—the true home builder—a chance. On March 2nd of the next year a follow-up act was passed permitting those who had in the past purchased, speculatively, to relinquish such portion as corresponded to their indebtedness, with all accumulated interest charges renounced and cancelled. This, as calculated, brought some ease to the situation.

Meanwhile, the idea was already taking shape in the public mind and penetrating the indurated brain-shell of the average statesman that the policy of regarding public lands as purely a source of revenue for the general government was not only false but operated against the development of the nation's greater resources and interfered with the social betterment of the people.

It was beginning to be realized that the fewer the obstacles that were interposed against occupancy and use, the sooner these lands would become productive of wealth and furnish tax-revenues to the new and struggling commonwealths in which public lands were located.

In 1826 this idea became so pronounced that Thomas H. Benton, Senator from Missouri, long a giant figure in national as well as Western politics, voiced it in the open Senate of the United States with impassioned eloquence. He maintained in his address that Senators are not questors of provinces empowered to dispose of domains at will; that an assembly of lawmakers could not arrogate to themselves the keepership, as it were, of the King's forests, treating intruding settlers as poachers; that this was a Republic for the many and not a Monarchy for the few, and that the public lands belonged to the people and not to the Federal Government. Thus dawned the period in which the idea of "Free Homesteads" was to find its fullest fruition in the "booms" and "rushes" that pushed so rapidly the frontier beyond the Mississippi in its progress towards the later West.

The slowness with which the government's machinery for the systematic disposal of public lands gnawed its way westward gave rise to many complications in the final adjustment of land titles. Ever before the public surveyor went the squatter. Often whole areas would be thrown open to occupancy and purchase after they had been already occupied and in use.

In the subconscience of the West, as well as in its thought expressed so frequently in action, was a conception of justice which ordained that the man who carved out his home and acres from the

wilderness should be quieted in his title, or have the first chance to purchase his special holdings when surveys were made and accessible land offices were opened.

Failing to avail himself of this opportunity, the squatter was to be compensated for the work he had already done and for the improvements he had already made. Woe be to the intruder who failed to recognize this unwritten principle of equity. At no time in the long history of the West, has the lot of a so-called claim-jumper been an enviable one, or his life among his neighbors one glad, sweet song. Social position as well as happiness of existence waited upon the newcomer's regard for moral obligations, notwithstanding his acquirement of unquestioned legal rights that ran counter to these obligations.

Many squatters, unable to buy, sold their improvements to those who could, for enough to enable themselves to buy elsewhere. Others, when the time came to buy, had accumulated from their labors sufficient to make the purchase. There was at all times on the moving frontier a transient element who cleared and improved with the sole view to subsequently selling. This accounts for the secondary and tertiary waves of migration that blended significantly with the original tide in the general westward movement of population.

Congress in the beginning had denied all rights to make settlement upon lands the Indian title to which had not been legally and in due form

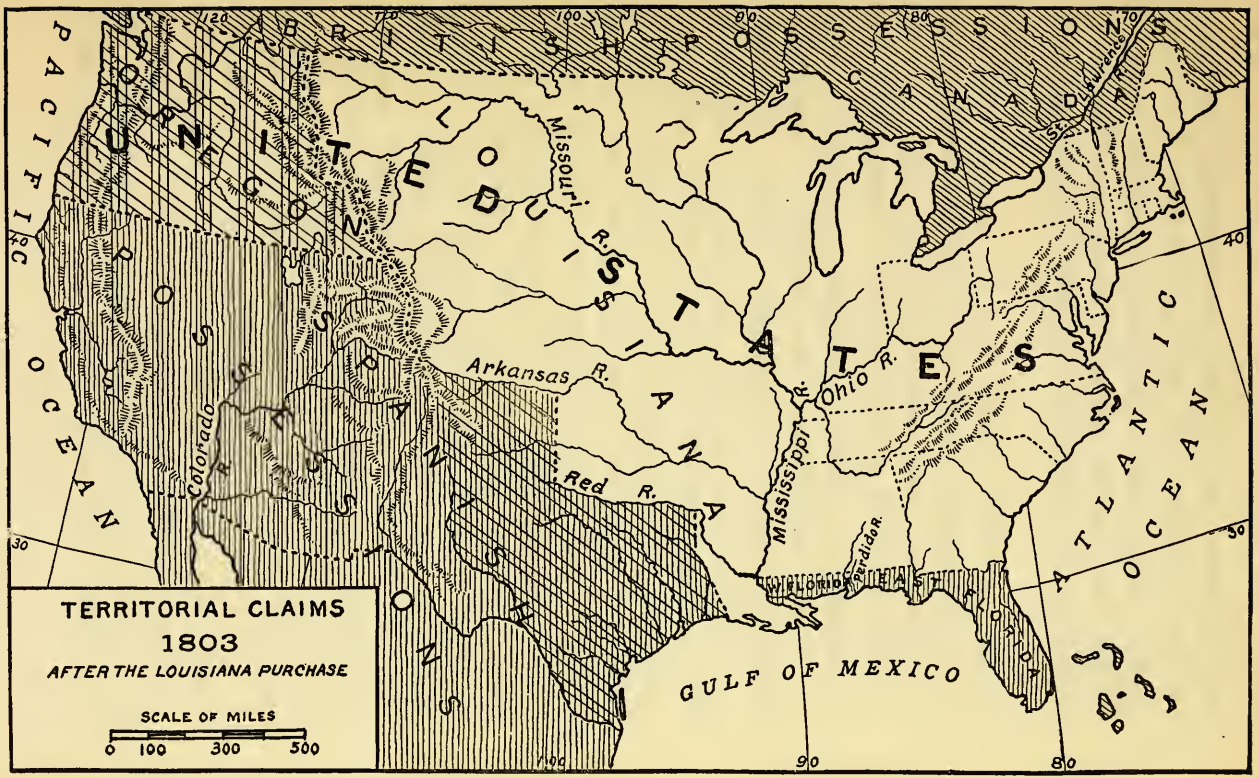
extinguished. In 1807 it assumed to declare that settlers had no legal right to advance beyond officially surveyed areas, nor to mark off claims, nor to occupy and cultivate lands which had not been surveyed and to which the United States had not issued warrant, patent or certificate of purchase.

But there was something that entered into the make-up of the average Westerner of that day that impelled him to resent restriction placed upon his will and inclination, whenever his material interests were involved. He did not sit up of nights reading and pondering over statutes devised to control his actions. Humility and obedience as a citizen were not beatitudes within his ken. With him, Might and Possession and absolute ownership of what he produced were rights as inalienable as those enumerated in America's great Declaration. He ignored both inhibitions and prohibitions. In his attitude towards the Indians, the good old Wordsworthian rule sufficed him—"that they should take who have the power, and they should keep who can."

When the Indians were powerful and hostile, the westward-moving land seeker and wilderness home builder reared his blockhouse among them and wrested from them meager acres to his use. When the Red Man had been chastened and subdued by wars and treaties, and his warriors had become wards of the Government, he penetrated their reservations and pried them from their

prized possessions, despite all mandates and all protective provisions which a distant Congress might enact. Witness his treatment of the Indians of Northern Illinois and Southern Wisconsin which brought on the Sac-and-Fox War. Note his inroads on the territory of the Osages, by which he pushed back the frontier of Missouri and Iowa before the United States Government extinguished the Osage title.

The Western settler seldom hesitated to go beyond surveyed areas. He anticipated the coming of the government surveyor and the Public Land Office by organizing, for self-protection, Land Clubs, Land Leagues and Land-Claims Associations among his squatting neighbors, which played an important part in the development of the upper Valley and in the subsequent quieting of land titles. These clubs and associations recorded with more or less formality titles derived by priority of occupancy and possession, adjusted conflicting claims based upon such titles and coöperatively maintained the rights of individual members against all comers. They were in evidence in a crude form as early as the Wantauga and Cumberland settlements of Tennessee and the Transylvania settlements of Kentucky. They were well advanced in organization and effectiveness in Northern Illinois and Southern Wisconsin, when the pre-survey invasion of that area was made. They reached their fullest development in Iowa, where Land Claims Associations, intelligently organized and



Territorial Changes after the Louisiana Purchase Treaty

(Compare with the map of 1800)

admirably administered, contributed much to the rapid settlement of that part of the frontier and to the peace of mind of its squatter inhabitants, when settlement was made prior to the arrival of the surveyor with his power to dispense governmental sanction.

As an instance of how these clubs and claim associations operated, let those so numerous in Iowa be cited. Each of these Iowa associations had a President, Vice-President, a Clerk or Recorder of Claims, a specified number of Judges or Adjusters of Claims and Boundaries, and two Marshals. Public meetings of the Association promoted common counsel and community co-operation. Claim Courts held formal session, and rendered decisions with unimpeachable fairness. The penalty for not abiding by a decision or for interfering with the property rights and interests of any association members as fixed by the court was the *boycott*. "We mutually pledge our honors," says the constitution of the Johnson County Claim Association, "that we will not associate with nor countenance those who do not respect the claims of settlers; that we will neither neighbor with them nor trade, barter or deal with them or otherwise regard them other than as enemies of justice and good order."

Thus in the constitutions and by-laws of these associations and their practical workings we see the Mayflower Compact, the New England Town-Meeting; the Southern county organiza-

tion; government by public opinion; government by common consent, and other facets of Democracy's American-cut diamond whose scintillations make it the most valued and admired among the world's collection of governmental gems.

CHAPTER THIRTY-FOUR

TWO GIANTS IN THE MAKING

THE Sac-and-Fox Indians had from the beginning been a thorn in the white man's side. Their enmity had deflected the French of Canada from a most convenient passageway to the Mississippi. They had upon repeated occasions been sources of irritation to the English. In 1804 they had been induced to cede their lands east of the Mississippi and move over to the west side, reserving, however, the right to return and hunt upon the land surrendered as long as it remained government property. A majority of their number observed the treaty but a portion of the tribe, loath to leave the graves and sacred places of their ancestors, clung to their ancient village of Sankermint, not far from the present site of Rock Island, Illinois. Here they lived comparatively undisturbed until 1823, their village being about fifty miles from the then frontier.

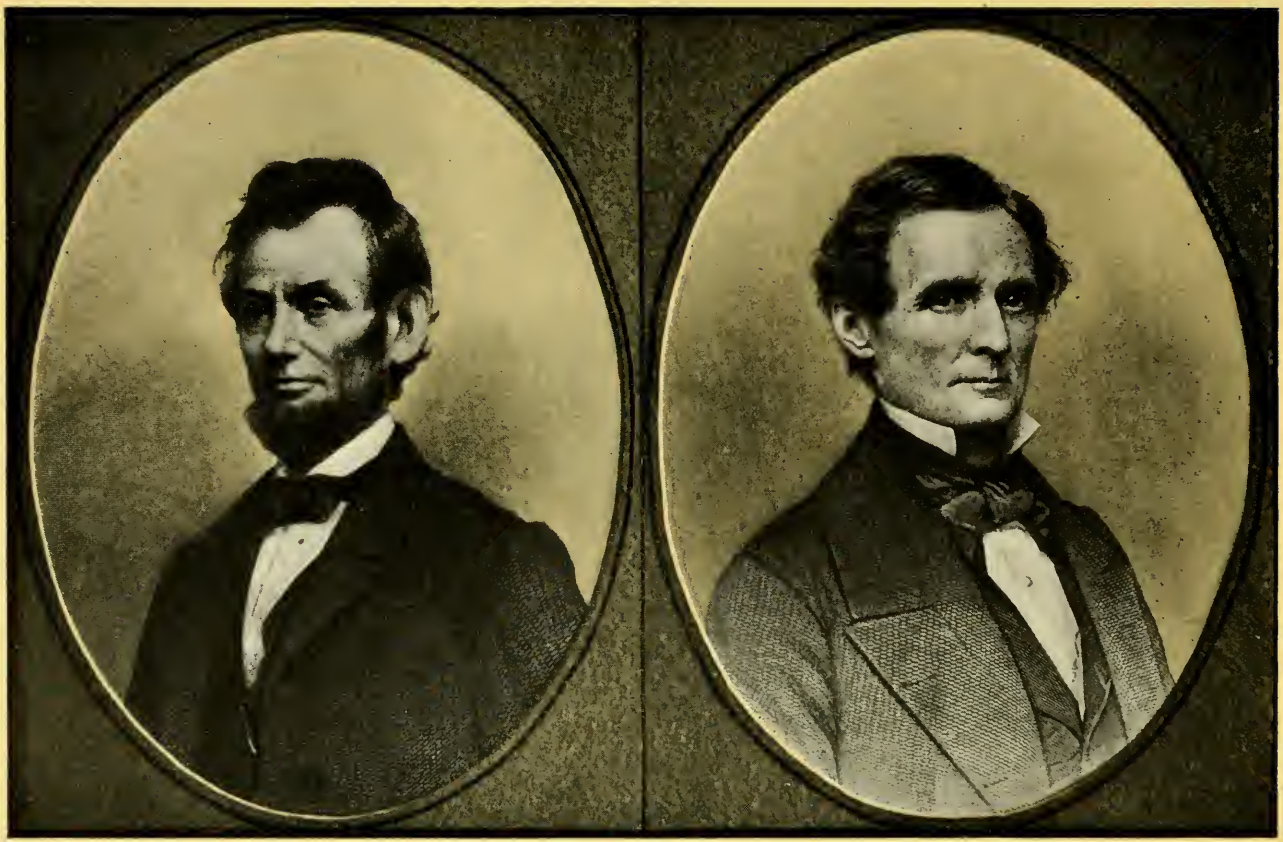
Unscrupulous squatters coveting the choice lands and improvements of these Indians began to make trouble. Collisions were of frequent occurrence, quasi-hostilities continuing until 1828. It

cannot be said that the record of these years is creditable to the whites. They violated the laws of their own country in their squattings upon unsurveyed lands; they violated the laws of humanity in their cruel methods of dispossessing the Indians.

The climax came when President Jackson notified these Indians they would have to move. Black Hawk, their chief, declined, maintaining that those who signed away the tribal lands originally had done so without tribal authority and through cajolery and deception. In the first clash (1831) Black Hawk was defeated but a force of Winnebagos and Pottawattomies joined him, sufficient to constitute a formidable menace to the frontier settlements of Illinois.

The militia were called out and request was made for officers of the regular army to take charge of the mustering. The one in command at the nearest post, Fort Crawford (Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin), was Zachary Taylor, afterwards President of the United States. The two officers sent to Dixon, Illinois, to muster in the militia were Lieutenants Jefferson Davis and Robert Anderson. A stalwart figure among the militia assembled was Abraham Lincoln, Captain of volunteers.

Taylor was yet to win his laurels at Buena Vista and Monterey; Anderson, his in his gallant defense of Fort Sumter. As Davis and Lincoln in their young manhood are thus brought together for the first time upon the stage of history, what prophet could have foretold the respective parts they were



Two Scions of Western Pioneer Stock—Lincoln and Davis

Lincoln and Davis, born in Kentucky within a few miles of each other of migrating pioneer wilderness winners, subjected to radically different formative influences, destined to become antagonists in one of the greatest conflicts of history, both suffering martyrdom, one in victory and the other in defeat.

yet to play! And when, in the end, the curtain was rung down, what an opportunity for the moralist to set forth the remarkable coincidences and contrasts of their respective careers!

Lincoln and Davis were born in Kentucky within one hundred miles of each other. Only eight months separated their ages, Davis being the older. The father of Lincoln, of Scotch-Irish stock, had pioneered from Virginia; the father of Davis, also of Scotch-Irish stock and a veteran of the war of the Revolution, had pioneered from Georgia. When Lincoln was eight years of age his father moved northwestward to Indiana; before Davis was five, his father moved southward to Mississippi. With the diverging of their lines of destiny came a difference in surrounding formative influences which subsequently was to have marked and differentiating effects.

Lincoln in Indiana and afterwards in Illinois faced manfully and conqueringly the fiber-testing, sordid hardships of the northwest frontier of that time. Davis in the southwest found himself in the community about Natchez where wealth was already in evidence, and where refinement to a fair degree had been attained. Lincoln, between intervals of grueling toil,—rail-splitting, wood-chopping, flatboating,—was the self-taught student passionately poring over his all-too-few books. Educational facilities where Davis dwelt were by no means meager and his was the good fortune to acquire in time the polish and ability to lead which

West Point ever imparts. Lincoln made his way upward practically single-handed and unaided. He wrung from his rougher associates respect through his wrestling and physical prowess; he drew to him their affection through his jokes and homely stories,—and his little world did indeed stand sadly in need of humor to lighten occasionally the drudgeries of daily existence. Withal, he won the confidence of his community, by his innate sense of justice, his unerring common sense and his unvarying good nature.

On the other hand, the prestige of family and of family connections, of belonging to the ruling, slaveholding class, smoothed the pathway to attainment for Davis, though the winning concededly was due to his own high character and personal accomplishments. He mingled not with the lowly except by condescension, but, let it not be charged, through any lack of innate kindliness of heart. His intellectual habits wrapped a mantle of aloofness about his towering form, and his mind won plaudits and admiration where his personality, except in death, failed to draw to him popular affection.

Lincoln was promoted to political leadership through his championing of the people's cause; Davis's heroism upon Mexican battlefields fired public imagination and made of him an idol upon which to drape political honors.

The second occasion upon which Lincoln and Davis were brought together within the focus of a

single camera was when both appeared in Washington as representatives of their respective States, —Lincoln, as Congressman from Illinois; Davis, as Senator from Mississippi. It was the lot of Lincoln to retire after a brief service, and then return to Washington triumphant as the chief executive of a great nation. It was the lot of Davis to remain for a longer time, a central figure in the nation's forum, before retiring to head a new, aspiring, would-be nation.

To both came the fate of martyrdom: Lincoln, to a cause won; Davis to a cause lost. The fame of Lincoln is the prized heritage of the whole reunited land; that of Davis is registered in the hearts of the people for whom he vicariously suffered. In both, the unbiased historian in time to come, when sectional prejudice will have had its day, will see exemplified in their respective careers action in accord with earnest conviction, one acting rightly as God gave him to see the right, as did the other, who so eloquently proclaimed this vital principle of correctly acting.

The Sac-and-Fox war that first brought upon one scene these two colossal figures of American history reduced the remnant of this tribe that had stood out insurgently against the whites to disaster and misery. To the volunteer contingent the war meant the extermination of a hated neighbor; the removal of a menace; the clearing of an uninterrupted way northwestward to the Mississippi and beyond. The militia, accordingly, acted with

undue cruelty throughout, when unrestrained. With the passing of this pitiable remnant beyond the Mississippi, the settlement of Northern Illinois, Southern Wisconsin and Southeastern Iowa was made possible; and in the West of those days Possibility was but a synonym for rapid realization.

CHAPTER THIRTY-FIVE

THE FURTHER FRONTIER

THE United States in its purchase of land west of the Mississippi River, acquired a new set of frontier problems and was confronted with new racial barriers. Just what were the limits of the territory purchased was at the time not definitely known and was not to be determined until some years afterwards. That the acquired area extended to the Pacific was the general belief. But Spanish occupancy had extended at a very early day up from Mexico and covered Southern California and the greater part of what is now included in the States of Arizona, New Mexico and Texas. Santa Fé, because of this early occupancy, is the second oldest town within the present confines of the United States. The claims of Spain and the United States overlapped in the Southwest, and disputes as to lines of demarkation between the possessions of the two nations were inevitable.

The dispute as to boundaries started at the southern end of what was afterwards fixed as the southwest corner of the Valley. Spain claimed to the Mermentau River in what is now Louisiana, as

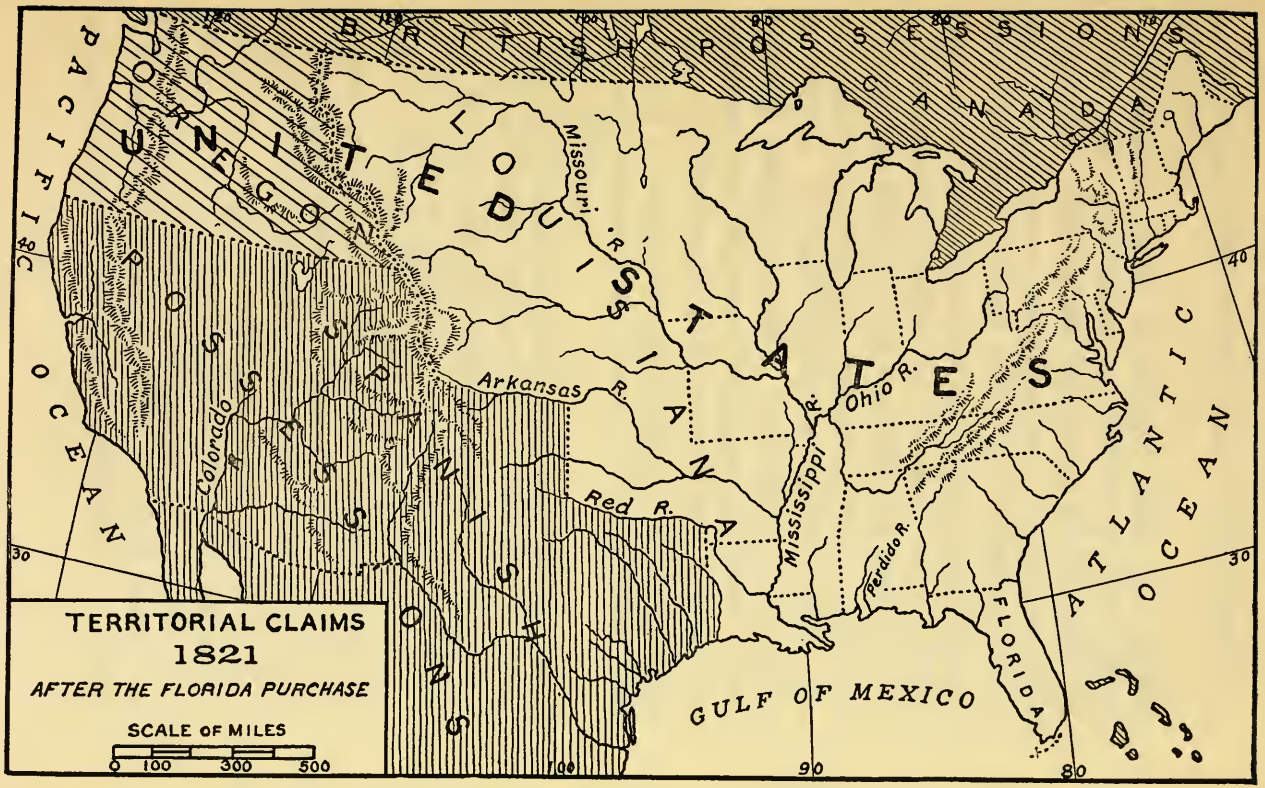
the eastermost limits of her New Philippines, or Texas possessions. The United States claimed to the Rio Bravo, a stream very much farther to the west. After years of diplomatic negotiations and threatened clashes, the Sabine River was accepted as the compromise boundary.

Meanwhile, in the early part of the disagreement Spanish forces established themselves at Nacogdoches, Texas, and threatened an invasion of the disputed territory and a possible attack upon Natchitoches (1806), the old and historic frontier town of Louisiana.

General Wilkinson, military governor of upper Louisiana and commander-in-chief of the United States army with headquarters at St. Louis was notified that the threatened advance of the Spaniards was making the reinforcement of Natchitoches necessary. He dispatched Col. Cushing with several companies and a quota of artillery, conferring upon him discretionary power to act.

Later, Wilkinson received orders from the War Department to himself repair to the Territory of Orleans and take personal command. He was instructed to resist any encroachment of the Spaniards upon the territory he was sent to defend, to repel invasion, and to oppose force by force if necessary. His specific orders, however, were:

"It is highly probable that within a very short time, we shall receive accounts of a satisfactory adjustment of all disputes between ourselves and Spain. Hostilities ought, therefore, to be avoided by all reasonable means within our



Territorial Changes after the Treaty with Spain by which the United States Acquired Florida

(Compare with map of 1803)

power; but an actual invasion of our territory cannot be submitted to."

Wilkinson, upon his arrival upon the scene, found that the Spaniards *had* encroached upon Louisiana. But before beginning open hostilities which might have precipitated a war between the two countries, he first tried the expedient of arranging a conference with the Spanish commander to endeavor if possible to persuade him to retire beyond the Sabine, both to await the result of the negotiations pending between their respective countries. In this Wilkinson was successful, the Spanish troops withdrew, and there was created a neutral zone between the opposing forces. Upon the establishment of this neutral zone is based the boast of a western parish (county) of the present State of Louisiana that they are citizens of the "Free State of Sabine."

The achievement of this bloodless victory was of some significance at that time, for Aaron Burr was then engaged in a formidable enterprise which had for its objective either the separation of the Southwest, including New Orleans, from the rest of the Union, or the conquest of the farther southwest including Mexico—just which of the two has never been positively determined. In the first case Burr's activities could be nothing more nor less than treason, and for this he was arrested and tried. The country beheld the spectacle of a man who had been Vice-President of the United States and accounted one of the most brilliant men of his day

sleeping on a pallet in the Richmond, Virginia, jail, pending his sensational trial.

Had an armed clash occurred with the Spaniards at this time with the armed forces of the United States few in number, and the energies of the government required to meet the crisis of war for the first time since the young republic was formed, it would have given Burr greater opportunity to organize and carry out his designs, whatever they were. But the crisis was averted and the so-called Burr's Conspiracy came to naught.

While Spain's barrier in the Southwest was made coincident with the Sabine River separating what is now Louisiana from Texas, yet a little farther north had come into existence another barrier of the government's own erection.

In moving the Indians from east of the Mississippi to new homes west of that stream, as has been touched upon already, these wards of the nation were given one of the choicest areas in the whole country, an area rich in agricultural possibilities and mineral resources, lying west of the present State of Arkansas. Here the onrush of the oncoming settlers, who by this time were beginning to swarm across the Mississippi, was effectively checked and deflected.

For the government had now assumed a real guardianship over the Indians who had surrendered themselves to its keeping. The government's interdiction against white settler intrusion upon Indian lands in this section did not, however,

prevent an individual white from entering occasionally the Indian Territory, taking unto himself an Indian wife and becoming by adoption a member of one of the several Indian tribes. Such came to be known with some contempt as "squaw men" and were regarded as hardly better than parasites living indirectly upon the bounty of the United States Government and drawing benefit by the rapid increment of wealth which came to his squaw wife through the great increase in tribal land values. Not until 1889 were the bars of this particular barrier to the settler advance removed, and when they were, the sensational rush of home seekers to the lands thrown open to occupancy is referred to as the Oklahoma Boom.

Meanwhile, areas of settlement in Western Missouri and Northern Arkansas were rapidly expanding. Thrusts of occupancy extended along various streams such as the Missouri, White, Osage and other rivers. Here were repeated the experiences and conditions of frontier life almost as they were encountered and found to exist when the first pioneers went beyond the Alleghanies. But there was this difference. These later settlers were nearer bases of supplies and not so dependent upon their own resources. Moreover, there was now a government over them that exercised itself more actively in protecting the frontier than when this frontier was east of the Mississippi.

It was the policy of the government as the frontier advanced, to purchase the lands adjacent

to the outlying settlements and remove their late Indian owners farther west, thus lessening chances of collision. Clashes, however, would take place despite all governmental effort to prevent them. These were due in part to the overeagerness of the whites to move into the relinquished domain before the occupants vacated; in part, to the frequent return of the dispossessed Indians upon horse-stealing and marauding expeditions which would occasion great alarm and force temporary retirement of the whites as in the days of the blockhouse. There would also be retaliations on the part of the whites which did not make for the general peace, however much it developed the combative frontier spirit of the participants to reappear in their descendants.

The various stages by which the Indian barrier in Missouri, like a movable fence, was removed farther and farther as the whites advanced, are indicated in the successive treaties which extinguished the titles of the aborigines to that area. The Sac-and-Fox treaty of 1804, concluded before the Sac-and-Fox War alluded to in another place, relinquished three million acres in the northeastern corner of the present State. Later, these Indians gave up the northwest corner (1836) to which they had retired, in the transaction known as the Platte Purchase, also referred to elsewhere.

Four years after the first Sac-and Fox relinquishment, Pierre Chouteau, acting for Governor Merriwether Lewis of Missouri Territory, concluded a

treaty with the Osages—a numerous tribe of wide range. This established a boundary line extending from Fort Clark on the Missouri River, due south to the Arkansas River, thence down that stream to the Mississippi. The area thus ceded was estimated at 48,000,000 acres and it will be seen that Arkansas as well as Missouri greatly profited by the transaction. A provision of the treaty, tacitly agreed upon but not stipulated, was that such claims as the Osages may have had to the lands north of the Missouri were by these same presents canceled. Ten years after the first treaty, a second one was entered into with the Osages by which the boundary line was moved still farther west, so that with the Platte Purchase subsequently made, the western limits of the State as it exists to-day were practically fixed.

CHAPTER THIRTY-SIX

WHERE THE VICTORY-SEED OF APPOMATTOX WAS SOWN

TURN we now again to the southwest frontier and to a time a little later in the century than when the armies of the United States and Spain confronted each other, with the neutral zone of the Sabine between them.

Mexico had won its independence of Spain in 1821. Texas had in turn thrown off the yoke of Mexico by means of a successful revolution which had its Lexington at Gonzalez, its Yorktown at San Jacinto and its Washington in the person of General Sam Houston.

Under its banner of the one star it stood a defiant republic for a decade, the threat of Mexican vengeance ever a menace against its peace but never a daunter of its courage. The move to annex the Lone Star Republic to the United States and admit it as a State to the Union transferred Mexican resentment from the smaller to the larger country. It soon became evident that the annexation of Texas meant war with Mexico.

The army post guarding the southwestern frontier at that time was Fort Jessup, west of Natchitoches, Louisiana, about halfway between the Red and Sabine Rivers. Here was stationed the 3rd regiment of United States Regulars, and here in the spring of 1844 was sent from St. Louis, the 4th regiment as reinforcements. And with the coming of the 4th Regiment to the Louisiana frontier, the West's great contribution to the galaxy of military stars of all time receives at the hands of Destiny the dedicatory acolade which consecrated him to the service of his country and inspired him to be its savior when threatened with dismemberment.

Few figures stand out more clearly from the background of American history than does that of U. S. Grant, one time commander-in-chief of the Federal Armies, and later President of the United States. Few careers have been more closely scrutinized under the searchlight of the biographer than that of this silent man of action.

Yet, clear cut as is his figure, and searching as this scrutiny has been, there is a period of his life covering some fifteen months which is all but ignored by the historian and biographer. Up to the time that Grant's own memoirs were published many obscure and erroneous statements concerning this period appeared in print. Thus, we are told by one of his many early biographers that Grant spent the two years following his graduation from West Point (which included this period) "in Missouri and Missouri territory among the Indians

who at that time were troublesome." One of the most popular of his recent biographers—a writer who took special pains to visit in person many localities identified with Grant's career—dismisses with a line these fifteen months, when he might have set them forth accurately and thrown some interesting side light upon the beginning of a military career whose subsequent phenomenal success makes its slightest detail of interest.

Grant graduated from West Point in July, 1843, and was assigned to the 4th Regiment as brevet second lieutenant. He reported for duty September 30th at Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis, and where his regiment was stationed. In May following, the 4th Regiment was ordered to join the 3rd in Western Louisiana, which was then the southwestern frontier of the United States. The troops went by way of the Mississippi and Red Rivers, and the move was made while Grant was absent on leave. In June Grant rejoined his regiment, which he found at Fort Jessup.

The United States troops assembled at this point were ostensibly an "army of observation." In reality, they were an intimation to Mexico that no intervention in Texas affairs would be tolerated. They were held in readiness to be changed at a moment's notice into an army of occupation; for Texan annexation was occupying a large share of public attention at this time.

It being impracticable for sanitary and commissary reasons to quarter all the troops in the

immediate vicinity of Fort Jessup, the 4th Regiment was removed to a point about twenty-five miles distant. The site selected was admirable. Three miles away in one direction is Grand Ecore, one of the most imposing bluffs along the Red River and one whose strategic importance in later years came into prominence in Banks's Red River campaign in the war between the States. Three miles in another direction is the town of Natchitoches. All about were the homes of wealthy planters, for here the richest of alluvial lands are interspersed with rolling hills, combining all the advantages of fertility and healthfulness. Indeed, in respect to the latter, Grant bears eloquent testimony in his memoirs. Says he,

> "The place was given the name of Camp Salubrity and was entitled to it. The camp was on a high ridge with spring branches in the valley in front and rear. The springs furnished abundance of water, and the ridge was above the flight of mosquitoes, which in that region abound. The regiment occupied the camp six months before the first death occurred, and that was caused by accident."

He also testifies that he here recovered from a cough contracted at West Point which indicated incipient tuberculosis. Who knows to what extent history might have been changed if this salubrious spot in the far South had not thus restored to health the future victor of Appomattox?

Natchitoches, near which the camp of the 4th Regiment was pitched, is one of the most time-

honored and historic spots in the Southwest. Founded by St. Denys in 1714, it is the oldest town within the limits of the present State of Louisiana. Its court house records and documents date back to the middle of the eighteenth century, while all about its quiet streets lingers an atmosphere full of the haze of the olden days and of memories which accentuate by contrast the evidences of modern progress and enterprise, whose spirit has of late descended upon the town.

In the region round about Natchitoches lived many well-to-do planters whose alluvial acres and slave labor placed them in that leisure class from which so much of the culture and refinement characteristic of the Old South developed. These lived well and entertained royally. Many a house party and social gathering broke the monotony of camp life for the young officers stationed at Camp Salubrity. How thoroughly Grant must have enjoyed these may be judged from what he wrote many years afterwards when stretched upon a bed of pain during his final illness. "There was much pleasant intercourse," he wrote, "between the inhabitants and the officers of the army. I retain very agreeable recollections of my stay at Camp Salubrity and of the acquaintances made there." In a letter to the present writer Gen. Fred D. Grant says, "Very little has been said about that period, and yet I have heard my father speak of it almost as much as I have heard him speak of the Civil War."

Some of these inhabitants who were yet alive when the writer visited the place[1] recalled Grant as clean shaven, boyish-looking, and undersized. He had bluish gray eyes, sandy hair, and weighed not far from one hundred and fifteen or one hundred and sixteen pounds. Nothing about his personal appearance gave the least intimation of possible future greatness. Indeed, several whom the writer interviewed disregarded in a most refreshing manner the opportunity to lay flattering tribute to their powers of prophecy and discernment, by candidly acknowledging that they saw in him a youth of only the most ordinary type. He was a superb horseman, however, and to this fact may, perhaps, be ascribed the reason why Grant became somewhat of a social favorite. For the planters of the lower Red River Valley loved their thoroughbreds and the man who appreciated good horseflesh had a short cut to their esteem. The Natchitoches racecourse was a famous one in the first half of the nineteenth century, and in a parish nearby, an important town to-day perpetuates the fame of a celebrated ante-bellum race horse in its name, Lecompte.

A letter dated December 1, 1844, written by Grant to his friend, Lieut. Hazlett, and not generally known, gives one an insight into what camp life at this time must have been. In this letter Grant refers to the state of excitement under which the men were laboring, for they expected daily to

[1] 1896.

be hurried off to the Texan frontier. He speaks of "Corpus or San Antonio" as two possible points of destination, reports all property not absolutely necessary to present needs packed up for transportation and stored at Grand Ecore. He intimates his own personal doubts as to any movement of the regiment in the near future, notwithstanding these preparations.

He tells of the muttered curses heaped upon the heads of the regimental officers who put the men at work building two long lines of blockhouses as winter quarters more comfortable than tents, when the men believed such labor unnecessary in view of the expected early departure. Of these blockhouses only the tracing of decayed wooden foundations are to be seen if by now they have not disappeared altogether. He writes:

"There were five days' races at Natchitoches. I was there every day and bet low, generally lost. Jarvis and a number from Jessup were there. Jarvis was pretty high and tried to be smart all the time. He fell over the back of a bench at the racecourse and tumbled over backward in his chair in front of Thompson's Hotel during his most brilliant day. He undertook to play brag at our camp and soon succeeded in ridding himself of twenty dollars all in quarters. The game of brag is kept up as lively as ever. I continued to play some after you left and won considerable, but for some time back I have not played and probably will never play again—no resolution, though."

Grant's disinclination to continue a devotee to brag, that fascinating forerunner of the Great

American Game, draw poker, was doubtless due to the fact that he had other resources within himself which enabled him to spend his time more profitably. For during the greater part of his stay at Camp Salubrity he undertook a serious and systematic line of study with a view of fitting himself for a chair of mathematics in some college. Indeed, this seems to have been the greatest ambition of his young manhood. In a number of instances he has recorded his averseness to war and army life.

There was a great deal of court-martialing of officers, both at Camp Salubrity and Fort Jessup, for drunkenness, disobedience and inattention to duty. The fact that there was never an occasion to have Grant up for trial speaks volumes for his excellent habits and exemplary conduct.

Of the older inhabitants of Natchitoches and vicinity when the writer was there who held Grant still in memory, perhaps the most interesting was old Valère, the negro who served as Grant's body-servant all the time the latter was at Camp Salubrity, and afterwards accompanied his master to the Rio Grande frontier and witnessed the early battles in the war with Mexico.

Valère had become quite aged and patriarchal. He had lost the sight of both eyes, but though his sightless orbs stared fixedly at the skies above, his face was ever smiling as he ambled along with a sureness of sense of locality that was a never ceasing source of wonder to other members of his race.

Valère was a maker of pipes. His hand-made, carefully turned corncob pipes, with their long curved cane root stems, had become known far and near for the sweetness and coolness of their smoke. Many a connoisseur has turned readily from his high-priced meerschaum to the modest fifteen-cent article turned out by the patient hand of this old blind man. He was quite popular, with white and black alike, and on Saturday afternoons the choicest nail-keg seat in any general store in the town was his to lounge upon, for it is upon these afternoons that the plantation hands and crop workers from the surrounding country flock in to do their week's trading and purchase their supplies. Wherever Valère might station himself, there a goodly number of his admirers would collect to the profit of the hospitable provider of the nail-keg.

Like many of the aged of his race, Valère had a fondness for recalling old times, and he was ever ready with anecdote or reminiscence of "dat leety man w'at dey call M'sieu Grant." Here is one of the anecdotes given in words that betokened the speaker's greater familiarity with the French language than with the one he endeavored to employ at the time:

"One time, M'sieu Grant he say, 'Valère, you ol' scoun'rel. W'y for you not mek feex my bed mo' better? `He full o' lomp. I can' sleep. Si you don' feex dose lomp I goin' leek you good.' I say, 'W'at for you talk like dat, M'sieu Grant? I all 'e time feex you bed good.' Eh bien, I go in 'he tent.

I look at him bed. I see it mek one big lomp. I lif' up ze mattrass. W'at you t'ink I see! One be-e-e-g rattlesnake all twis' up roun'. He col'—want for git warm—crawl up under mattrass. Fin' warm place, go sleep. I call, 'M'sieu Grant, come yere.' He come. I lif' up mattrass. Show him snake. He jomp. Tonnere! I say, 'How you t'ink bed not goin' for have lomp w'en snake push him mattrass up like zat?' Ze snake he be killed. M'sieu Grant he no mo' say he goin' leek me fo' not mek 'he bed good."

For fourteen months Grant's regiment was stationed at Camp Salubrity. Early in June, 1845, the regiment received orders to embark for New Orleans. Here it remained until the early part of September, when it was transported to Corpus Christi to form a part of Taylor's army, operating upon the Texas border. Thus, from June, 1844, to September, 1845, Grant was domiciled in Louisiana. And yet, as was said at the beginning, his published biographies may be searched in vain for any full account of him during this period. The few months spent in Jefferson Barracks just before the removal of his regiment to Louisiana are fully dwelt upon, perhaps because the interesting episode of his courtship is connected therewith; but the longer portion of "the two years following his graduation" has all but been lost sight of.

To-day Camp Salubrity is but a level hill-top surrounded by forest-covered dells and ravines. Yet here a clear-cut boyish voice once gave to trees still standing, tones to echo—tones which in time became stentorian enough to move a million men to action. Here the future General of the United

States armies received his real introduction to camp and army life, and here he first learned those lessons of drill, organization and close attention to military details which made him prominent in the Mexican War. And without this prominence and experience who knows but what the man and the opportunity might never have met at the time they did in the subsequent war between the States?

CHAPTER THIRTY-SEVEN

THOSE THAT FOLLOWED AFTER

ANY account of the rapid peopling of the earlier West would be incomplete did it not include some reference to the great secondary tide that poured into the Valley following upon the older one which by this time had advanced beyond the Mississippi.

This secondary tide was made up of Europeans and of these Europeans, first in evidence were the Irish, constituting as they did forty-two per cent of all foreigners who came to this country between the years 1821 and 1850. These Irish are to be distinguished from the Scotch-Irish of the old pioneer stock, who themselves were descended from the Covenanters whose sojourn in Ireland was only long enough to tack on to themselves the hyphenated part of their name.

Famine years and the evils of foreign landlordism drove these Irishmen to America. Their past experience had not fostered in them any love of the soil, except possibly a sentimental one for the "ould sod." Agriculture had no attraction for them.

Too temperamental were they for the isolated life of the rural community. Gregarious by nature, they naturally sought the centers of population already established. Wherever there was a market for physical labor of the hard, grueling kind, taxing one's powers of endurance to the utmost; wherever he could convert his brawn into satisfying wages; wherever his natural wit and aggressiveness counted most in winning for him political preferment, there would the Irishman be found in large numbers, handling his pick and shovel, carrying his hod, lifting the heavy burdens of commerce, swinging his policeman's club and wearing his silk hat of various vintages as he bossed his ward or ruled the destinies of his city. We owe to him, as laborer and contractor, the building of many great public works and the erection of many massive edifices. He contributed the sweat of his toil to the sum total of all the effort and energy required to put America where it is to-day in material progress; and he did this long before the coming of the swarthy, darker races of Southern Europe who took his place as diggers of ditches, hewers of stone, lifters of freight, laborers in rolling mills and other strenuous occupations calling for physical endurance.

Many an Irish immigrant found himself halted by his inclination, at the seaport where he landed. He thrilled with the activities he there beheld and decided to go no farther. Others sought the West over the old ways the pioneers had blazed, lured

by the promise of greater opportunity which the West of that day held forth. But it was the cities that drew him, each receiving its contingent of Irish newcomers. These were, in a sense, true pioneers, for they led the van behind which many of their race were to follow.

But most numerous of all the foreigners were the Germans. Not that this class of immigrants waited until the period of the great westward movement of population began, before coming to this country. It is said that they were present at Jamestown. Under Baron de Graffenreid, they founded New Berne, N. C. (1710). A number of the earliest Georgia settlements are attributed to them. The nomenclature of many towns and counties in the Middle and South Atlantic States reveals interesting information as to where they first arrived and dug themselves in. William Penn, by skillful circularizing, lured them for their eventual good to his landholdings of "Penn's Woods." John Law, a little later, did the same for New Orleans and the lower Mississippi Valley. In sectarial groups headed by their pastors—Mennonites, Moravians, Labadists, Harmonites, Zoarites, Dunkers, etc.—they established their communities in the back country and were wilderness winners in every sense of the word. The Zoarites are credited with being the first makers of pig iron in the Alleghany regions and gave the first impulse to the industry that makes that section to-day the leader of the world in iron production. And leaping over

the intervening years, we find Nicholas Longworth the First, in the early part of the nineteenth century, following in the lead of William Penn. He induced Germans to come over to his Ohio landholdings for the purpose of developing vineyards and wine making. But the climate and soil being poorly adapted to such purposes, these Germans went to brewing and soon made Cincinnati the beer capital of America, a position it held until certain cities further west wrested the hop-and-malt supremacy from the Ohio metropolis and themselves became the more famous for their brews.

But where in the seventeenth century the Germans landed in hundreds, and in the eighteenth century, in thousands, in the nineteenth their arrivals were in the hundreds of thousands, the end of that century finding 2,666,990 men, women and children of German birth living within the confines of the United States. The phenomenon of his migration to America almost equals the phenomenon of the great westward movement of population by which the Mississippi Valley was originally peopled. Indeed, at one time a serious doubt arose as to whether the United States was to remain Anglo-Saxon or become Germanized.

The urging causes to this German migration operating through a long succession of years were political, religious and economic in their nature. The general business depression in central Europe following the Napoleonic Wars; the leaven of liberty and democracy introduced into the Ger-

manic lump by the Gallic yeast of French Revolutionary ideas; persecutions and repressions by the ruling classes to whom the Teutons of that day were not as blindly submissive as they have since shown themselves to be; general dissatisfaction with the reactionary policies of Metternich; revolts in succession and severalty, ending in failure and wholesale political persecutions and exile; poverty and famine induced by successive crop failures with no cessation of confiscatory taxes,—all contributed to the general unrest which made the Teuton take up once more his march westward and enter America as he had done in an earlier era when he entered Europe.

The educated as well as the working classes; the dreamer, the philosopher, the idealist as well as the small tradesman, the farmer, the laborer who knew not there were stars because of his life of low-bendings under intolerable burdens—all joined in the migration. They came by villages and congregations, by individuals, families and organized societies. It was even planned to organize a German state of 60,000 citizens, select its government officers and move it entire to some Middle West location, where land could be had sufficient for the purpose and there make themselves a member of the Federal Union. There were those who even dreamed of a New Germany in the heart of America, a dream which in reverse may yet come true when America and her allies shall have cured the cancer of Prussianism and replaced it with the healthy

democratic tissue of a New United States in the heart of Germany.

The States west and northwest of Indiana felt the full force of this Germanic tide. For in the areas east and south of that State lands had passed their periods of pioneer cheapness and had so enhanced in value as even to drive farther west the younger generation of those parts. The lure of low-priced land drew the German to the Northwest as by a magnet. He spread over Northern Illinois, Southern Wisconsin, crossed the Mississippi to Missouri, Iowa and Minnesota, threw settlement outshoots into Arkansas, and isolated colonies into the red hills of North Louisiana and over the prairies of Western Texas. His sturdy shoulders, as he pushed his way up the fertile valley of the Missouri, helped mightily in moving the frontier back, back and still back until the barrier of the Western prairies, with its fierce, far-riding denizens, brought pause to the advancing whites.

The German's memory of what he had left behind in coming to America was not in those days the roseate one of a *Deutschland über alles* that a number of later comers cherished. He entertained no blind admiration nor lingering and subservient affection for the masters that had driven him forth. Though clinging to the language and many of the folk-ways of his forebears, he was in full mood to appreciate the blessings, as well as the responsibilities, of American citizenship.

His loyalty to the land of his adoption and his

acquired patriotism were put to the fire test when called upon to rally to the defense of the Union. He marched in numbers behind Franz Sigel, Carl Schurz and other military leaders whom his race contributed to the Union cause, singing to the tune of "The Girl I Left Behind Me," his mock-song beginning,

> "I dress mineself in Yenkee clothes
> Und I go und fight mit Sigel."

And when he went into the iron brigades that came out of the Northwest and overwhelmed the Southern Confederacy, the capstone was placed that made the structure of his citizenship complete. His descendants, American in all save, perhaps, in family name, number many who hold high commands in the naval and military service of the United States and high positions in the councils of the nation, their loyalty unquestioned and unquestionable at a period when doubt and suspicion naturally attached themselves to everything suggesting German thought and influence.

This old Valley pioneering German and his progency are not to be confounded with the later comers of his race led to our land by the lure of the American Dollar or urged to abandon his own because of his cowardly evasion of military service which in his home country was at the time exacted of all citizens alike. It was among these that our government had to look in the troublous period of the great World War for the spy, the traitor, the

human curs who in answer to the voice from across the sea were all too prone to bite the welcoming hand that fed them, and, in spirit, to lick fawningly the hand that had driven them forth from their "fatherland." Exemplifying in their minds and actions the psychology which applies to cowardice, we saw them grovel abjectly when the Hohenzollern whip of unspeakable ruthlessness sounded snappingly from the other side of the Atlantic, making them fanatically frantic to serve the terrible compeller of their mistaken worship, in ways devious and sinister, by methods of cunning and secrecy which offered least danger to their precious skins and carcasses. And now that the war is over, we will let it go at that.

A factor contributing largely to the peopling of Western Missouri and the pressing back of that section of the frontier to the western limits of the present State, was the overland trade which developed with Santa Fé and with the distant Northwest. St. Louis, as might commonly be supposed, was not the headquarters or assembling point for either the Santa Fé or the Oregon trade, but "Old" Franklin, 150 miles farther west. As steamboat navigation on the Missouri developed, the receiving and forwarding point was moved still farther west to Independence, cutting off that much wagon-haul from the first stage of the long journey across the plains.

The profits of the Santa Fé trade were enormous; its dangers were such that only well-armed, well-

guarded caravans of many wagons could successfully undertake the venture. Every trip westward was the piercing of a barrier, a sortie as it were, from a fortified line, far into the country of an enemy. No man or wagon might venture alone. Each waited perforce until a number assembled, organized for mutual protection and set out in as formidable an array as possible. The wagon used was usually of the Pennsylvania Conestoga type. Its manufacture was specialized at Pittsburg for the Western trade. It held five thousand pounds of freight and was drawn by eight mules or oxen—sometimes twelve. One of Missouri's chief industries of the present day, mule breeding, had its inception in the needs of this trade before the railroad relegated wagon-hauls to that scrap-heap which Progress delights in piling.

The frontier north of the Missouri section held closely to the Mississippi long after Missouri had population enough to form a State. Iowa was comparatively untouched as late as 1830. Lieutenant Zebulon Pike of Pike's Peak fame, in his exploration of the headwaters of the Mississippi, had in 1805 found only three small isolated settlements. One of these had been planted originally by Julien Dubuque, a French Canadian who had received a land grant and mine concession during the Spanish régime. The second was that of Basil Girard near what is now McGregor. The third was that of Louis Tesson near what is now the town of Montrose. By 1840 the southeastern corner of Iowa

began to receive a part of the overflow from population streams pouring into Wisconsin and Missouri. It had by this time become a separate Territory. Its first seat of government was Iowa City, where it remained for twelve years, Robert Lucas, John Chambers and James Clark serving in succession as territorial governors. It received its heaviest influx of settlers in the period following 1850, hence the limits of this volume prevent further consideration being given to the State whose Indian name means "Beautiful Land" as well as the State north of it.

The work of those concerned with the pioneer conquest of the earlier West ends with the crossing of the Mississippi and the reaching of the barrier of the Western plains. Here a new advance begins, the pioneer of the prairie relaying the pioneer of the earlier period in the race westward. Here the pioneer's dwelling changes from the log cabin in forest fastnesses to the sodded hut of wind-swept, vision testing, treeless stretches, redolent of flowers and wild grasses. Here the West of Boone, of Sevier, of Robertson and of the older Lincoln merges into the West of Long, of Pike, of Frémont, of Carson and of Cody.

The reader will have to look elsewhere for any chroniclings of the conquest of the later West, any account of the breakings through the barrier of the Western plains, any narrative of the never-ending streams of American pioneers following after the sun of American expansion, to its setting in the Orient's sea.

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INDEX

A

Acadian chiefs, 135
Acadian coast, 137
Acadian migration, 132–137; dispersal, 131
Adair, Gen. John, 294
Anderson, Lieut. Robert, 340
Animal paths, facilitators of human travel, 15
Arkansas, John Law's settlement, 66
Arkansas *Post*, founded, 50; capital of Arkansas territory, 231
Arkansas Territory, 236
Arsenbourge, Count, 90
Assenisipia, proposed State of, 228
Attakapas section, 135
Aubry, Capt. Philippe, 92–97
Austin, Moses, Empresario, 260
Autossee, battle of, 252

B

Barataria, pirates of, 296
Barbier, Gabriel, 47
Baron, Louis, 47
Bassard, Anthoine. 47
Bateaux-plats, 23
Baton Rouge district, 214
"Beautiful Land" (Iowa), 372
Bellerive, St. Ange de, 120
Benton, Thomas H., 333
Bernadotte, 190
Berthier, Marshall, 188
Beujeu, naval commander, 49
Bienville, Jean Baptiste Lemoyne, sieur de, 53–58
Biloxi, French settlement of, 53
Black Code of Louisiana, 110
Black Hawk, Chief, 340
Blacksmith shops, floating, 304
Blockhouse era, 262
Blount, Gov., 239
Bobœuf, André, 47
Boiduc, Louis, Missouri pioneer, 118
Boisblanc, Hardy, martyr patriot, 105
Boisrondet, Sieur de, 46
Bonaparte, Lucien, 188
Boone, Daniel, Kentucky pioneer, 6; becomes Spanish subject, 128
Boone's Road, 16
Boré, Étienne de, 209
Bourdon, Jacques, 47
Boycott, early use of, in the West, 337
Boyer, Jacques, Missouri pioneer, 117
Braddock, Gen., 26
Break-in-transportation law, 299
Brewing industry, western beginnings of, 366
British West Florida, 151
Broadhorns, 24
Broussard, Senator Robt. J., 136
Browne, Dr. Joseph, 235
Bruin, Col., 180
Brulé, Great Lakes explorer, 35
Buffalo paths, 16
Buret, Pierre, 47
Burr, Aaron, 239, 347

C

Cabildo, the, 108
Caddodoquis Indians, 14, 58
Cadillac, Antoine de la Mothe, 58
Cahokia, Ill., French post, 118
"Cajun" menu, typical, 142
California, admission of, 327
Calumet-Des Plaines portage, 19

Calumet-Kankakee portage, 19
Camp meeting, early western, 274–277
Camp Salubrity, La., 360
Canoe as a vehicle of travel, 17
Carèsse, Pierre, martyr patriot, 105
Carondelet, Baron de, 113
Carroll, Gen., 287
Carver, Jonathan, prophecy of, quoted, 11
Casa Calvo, Marquis de, 113, 207
Casket girls, 57
Casson, M. Dollière de, 39
Cessions of western territory, 226
Chambers, John, Gov. of Iowa Territory, 372
Champlain, Samuel, 20
Chapman family, 304
Cherokee Indians, 325
Cherronesus, proposed State of, 228
Chicago-Des Plaines portage, 19
Chicago, early history of, 192, 250, 300, 302
Chickasaws, the, 17, 33
Chillicothe, territorial capital, 234
Choctaws, the, 325
Chouteau, Auguste, Missouri pioneer, 118
Chouteau, Pierre, Jr., 311
Cincinnati, early history of, 165, 246, 300
Claiborne, William Charles Cole, 209, 237–244
Clark, James, 372
Clark, Gov. William, 236
Cleaveland, Moses, 249
Cleveland, O., early history of, 249, 302
Coburn, John, 235
Cochois, Jacques, 47
Cochran, Vice-Admiral, 284
Code O'Reilly, the, 110
Coffee, Gen., 287
Coles, Edward, Illinois pioneer, 317
Comet, the, second steamboat on the Mississippi, 311
Compagnie des Indes, 62
Compagnie de la Louisiane, 62
Company of the West, John Law's, 63–65
Connecticut Reserve, 225
Conti, Prince de, 41
Cornstalk, Chief, 26
Coureurs-de-bois, 59
Creek treaties, 253
Crève Cœur, Fort, 44
Crozat, Antoine, 57–58
Crozat's charter, 58
Cruzat, Francisco, Spanish governor, Missouri district, 121
Cumberland Gap, 16
Cumberland Road, 26
Cushing, Col., 346
Customs and manners in the Acadian Attakapas country, 138–145
Cuyahoga-Muskingum portage, 20

D

d'Abaddie, Gov., 90
d'Abrado, Marchioness, 95
Dances, Western pioneer diversion, 273
"Dark and Bloody Ground," 6
Dauterive, Capt. Antoine Bernard, 135
d'Autry, Sieur de, 47
Davis, Lieut. Jefferson, 340
Davis and Lincoln, comparisons and contrasts, 340–343
Dearborn, Fort, 251
Decrés, Minister of Marine, 190
De Lassus, Charles Duhault, Spanish Governor, 121, 212
Denman, Mathias, 246
Derbigny, Pierre, 233
Deshay County, Ark., locality of De Soto's death, 34
De Soto, Hernando, 3, 31–34
Destrahan, 223
Detroit, significant growth of, 302
De Vaca, Cabeza, 31
Doak's Stand, Indian treaty of, 253
Doucet, Julien Jerome, martyr patriot, 105
Dry-goods store, floating, 304
Dual elements in Western migration, 314
Dubois, Dr. Raphael, 9
Dubuque, Julien, Iowa pioneer, 371
Dufour, Parfant, Missouri pioneer, 117
Dulhut, Daniel Greysolon, Minnesota pioneer, 46

Duluth, significant growth of, 302
Dunkers, the, 365
Du Tisne, early Kansas explorer, 75
Du Quesne, Fort, 26

E

Easterner and Southerner as pioneer Western settlers, compared, 325–326
Easton, Rufus, 235
Echota, Indian treaty of, 253
Enotachapco, battle, 252
Enterprise, the fourth steamboat to reach New Orleans; first to enter the Red River, 311
Erie Canal, 301
Eschikagou, 250
Etna, the, pioneer steamboat, 311
Eustis, Dr., quoted, 219
Evansville, Ind., steamboat building activities of, 309

F

Facility, the, first steamboat on the Arkansas River, 311
Fallen Timbers, battle, 248
Ferrero, Italian historian, quoted, 7
Fiddlers' contests, Western, 272
Filles à la Cassette, 57
Filson, John, 246
Financial Panic, first, 331, 332
Finger Lakes, the, 20, 35
Fitch, John, inventor, 305
Flatboat Commerce, 302–303; enormous volume of, in 1832, 311
Flint, Rev. Timothy, quoted, 319
Florida Boundary Treaty, 183
Fontainebleau, private treaty of, 82, 87
Forbes, Gen., 26
Forman, Ezekiel, Natchez pioneer, 180, 273
Fort Bowyer, 283
Fort Chartres, Ill., French post, 117
Fort Crawford, Wis., 340
Fort Jackson, Indian treaty of, 252
Fort Jessup, La., 353
Fort Meigs, O., 279
Fort Mims, massacre, 252
Fort Rosalie (Natchez), French post, 59
Fort Stephenson, O., 279
Fort St. Louis, Ala., 54
Fort St. Louis, Texas, 50
Fox-Wisconsin portage, 18
Franklin, Mo., and the Santa Fé trade, 370
French colonial government in the Valley, 58
French, Daniel, pioneer steamboatman, 310
French Forts, early Western, 76
French *Habitans* of Ill. and Mo., 123–126
French migration, Ill. to Mo., 119
Frontenac, Count, 38
Frontenac, Fort, 41
Fulton, Robert, 305

G

Gallinée, Abbé, 39
Galvez, Don Bernardo de, Spanish Governor, 113, 158–159
Gardoqui, Don Diego de, 167
Gayoso de Lemos, Spanish Governor, 113; Commandant Natchez district, 181
General Pike, the, first steamboat to arrive at St. Louis, 311
German coast, the, 66
German immigration to the Mississippi Valley, 365–370
German elements among French Creoles of La., 67–68
Germans as early western Virginia pioneers, 79
Gibault, Father, 149
Gibbs, Gen., at battle of New Orleans, 293
Girard, Basil, Iowa pioneer, 371
Godoy, Spanish Minister to the U. S., 187
Golden Horseshoe, Knights of the, 78
Grand Ecore, historic bluff on Red River, 365
Grant, Gen. Fred D., quoted, 356
Grant, U. S., as a lieutenant at Natchitoches, La., 353–361
"Great Woods," the, 79
Greenville, Indian treaty, 248

Grevel, Colin, member of La Salle's exploration party, 47
Griffon, the, 43
Guachoya, Indian village, 34

H

Hamilton, Lieut.-Gov., 148
Harmar, Gen., 248
Harmonites in the West, 365
Harrison, Gen. William Henry, 221, 251
Helm, Capt. Leonard, 150
Henault, André, member of La Salle's expedition, 47
Henderson, Ky., steamboat building center, 46
Hiens, conspirator against La Salle, 49
Homestead entries, beginnings of free, 333
Hominy Block, the, 268
Horseshoe Bend, battle of, 252
Howard, Gen., quoted, 313
Huron, Lake, early exploration of, 35

I

Iberville, Sieur de, French Naval commander and colonizer, 52–55
Illinois, early French settlements of, 117; as a county of Virginia, 149; territory of, formed, 234; early slavery agitation in, 316; first constitution, 316-317
Illinois, proposed State of, 228
Independence, Mo., and the Santa Fé trade, 370
Independence, the, first steamboat to ascend the Missouri, 311
Indian canoes classified, 22
Indian feast, typical menu of, 37
Indian Springs, treaty of, 253
Indian Territory created, 325
Indian Territory formed, 234; memorializes Congress to permit slavery, 315
Iowa City, pioneer capital, 372
Irish immigration to the Mississippi Valley, 333–334
Iron industry, beginnings of, in the Alleghany regions, 365
Iroquois, the, 20
Islenos, the, early immigrants to the lower Valley, 243

J

Jackson, Gen. Andrew, 252, 318
Jay, John, 167
Jay Treaty, the, 174
Jefferson, Thomas, 227, 239
Jennings, Jonathan, 315
Joliet, Louis, fur trader, 35
Journey-cake, 267

K

Kansas-Nebraska Bill violative of the Missouri Compromise agreement, 327
Kaskaskia, Ill., 113, 149, 234
Keane, Gen., at the battle of New Orleans, 286
Keelboat, the Western, 23–24, 305
Kentucky, District of, 6, 148, 225; convention of 1785, 173
Kinzie, John, Chicago pioneer, 250
Knights of the Golden Horseshoe, 78

L

Labadists in the West, 365
Laclede, Pierre, Missouri pioneer, 118
Lafitte, Jean and Pierre, 296
La Frenière, Nicolas Chauvin de, martyr patriot, 89
La Frenière's revolt, 89–99
Land Claims Associations, 336; organization and operation, 337
Land companies, Western, 330
Land policy of Congress, early, 329
Land prices in the West, early, 330–331
Lambert, Gen., at the battle of New Orleans, 293
La Salle, Cavalier de, 3, 38–50
La Salle, Nicolas de, 47
La Sassier, message bearer, 98
La Sueur's copper seeking expedition, 56
Laurentian Basin, 18
Laussat, colonial prefect, 205
La Verendryé brothers, 75

Law, John, financial genius, 60–66
Leclerc, Gen., 191
Lecompte, historic western race horse, 357
Le Mai, Chicago pioneer, 250
Lemoyne, Jean Baptiste, Sieur de Bienville, 53–58
Lemoyne, Pierre, Sieur d'Iberville, 53–55
Lewis, Merriwether, 350
Leyba, Fernando de, Spanish governor of the Missouri district, 121
Lignon, Jean de, member of La Salle's expedition, 47
Lincoln, Abraham, 318, 340–348; his father, 270
Lintot, Bernard, 181
"Little Paris" (St. Martinsville, La.), 144
Livingston and Fulton's steamboat patents, 309
Livingston, Edward, 282
Livingston, Robert R., 198, 305
Longworth, Nicholas, 366
Losantiville (Cincinnati), 246
Louisiana, district, 221, 235; navigable streams, 21; origin of name, 48; ceremonies of transfer, 208–210
Louisville, Ky., early growth of, 300
L'Ouverture, Toussaint of San Domingo, retards possession taking of Louisiana, 190
Lucas, J. B. C., 235
Lucas, Robert, territorial governor of Iowa, 372
Lures and urges in population movements, 8

M

Maramec ore deposits, 66
Marbois, Barbé, 200
Marietta, O., founded, 246
Marquette and Joliet, first French to reach the Mississippi, 36–38
Marquette, Père, missionary priest, 3, 35
Marquis, Pierre, martyr patriot, 105
Masan, Balthazar, martyr patriot, 105
Massacre Island, 54
Masse, Jean, member of La Salle's expedition, 47
Matagorda Bay, settlement of, 49
Maumee-Wabash portage, 19
Maurepas, Fort, 53
Maurice, Jean Baptiste, Missouri pioneer, 117
Mauvilla, Indian village and battle, 33
McCullough, Hugh, Indiana pioneer and U. S. Secretary of the Treasury, 313
McGregor, Iowa, early settlement of, 371
Mennonites in the West, 365
Merchandising in the lower Valley, 303–304
Mermentau River, disputed boundary, 215
Meterie, Jacques la, La Salle's notary, 47
Metropotamia, proposed state of, 229
Michigania, proposed state of, 228
Migneret, Pierre, member of La Salle's expedition, 47
Milhet, Jean, martyr patriot, 90, 105
Miller, Gov. James, 236
Millinery industry, traditional origin of, 145
Minor, Stephen, 181
Miro, Don Estevan de, Spanish governor of the Valley, 113, 117
Mississippi River, early commerce, 24; difficulties in navigating, 24; early French commerce on, 122; enormous volume of commerce, carried by, 302; first steamboat on, 306–307
Mississippi Territory, 226
Missouri Compromise, the, 322
Missouri, earliest settlers, 118; territory formed, 235; Mecca of migrating slaveholders, 319; becomes a slave State, 323; rapid growth of population, 329
Missouri-Louisiana waterway independent of the Mississippi, 21
Mohawk Valley route to the West, 26
Monroe, James, 199
Montrose, Iowa, early settlement of, 371

Morales, Don Ventura de, 194
Moravians as Western pioneers, 365
Moreau, Louis Victor, 283
Morgan, Gen., at the battle of New Orleans, 295
Morgan, George, 129
Mule breeding industry, beginnings of, in Missouri, 371
Mullens, Col., at battle of New Orleans, 294

N

Nacogdoches, Texas Spanish military occupancy of, 346
Napoleon, 187–190, 193, 200–201, 202–203
Napoleon House, the, romantic history of, 204
Natchez District, 249
Natchez Indians, war with, 59
Natchez, Miss., founding of, 59; early English settlers, 181
Natchitoches, La., founded, 58; Southwestern frontier town, 346; race course, 358
Nelson, Capt., pioneer western steamboatman, 311
New Albany, Ind., steamboat building industry of, 309
New Madrid earthquake, 307
New Madrid, Mo., early history of, 129
New Orleans, battle of, 286
New Orleans, founded, 63; street nomenclature, 64; first written description of, 64; remarkable growth of, 300
New Orleans, the, first steamboat on the Mississippi and Ohio, 306; first voyage of, 306–307
Nicollet, Wisconsin explorer, 35
Northwest Territory, Clark's conquest of, 148–150; organization of, 226
Noyan, Jean Baptiste, martyr patriot, 105

O

Ohio Company, 80
Ohio Company of Associates, 246
Ohio, rapid growth of, 6
"Old French War," 82
One-crop system in the lower Valley, origin of, 304
Opelousas, frontier post, 136
Ordinance of 1787, 230–231
O'Reilly, Don Alexandro, 100
Orleans, Island, 197; Territory, 235
Osage cession of lands, 351
Osage Indians, first and second treaties with, 325

P

Pakenham, Sir Edward, 286
Paris, Treaty of 1763, 82
Passenger travel on the Mississippi, 308
Patterson, Robert, 246
Pelipsipia, proposed State of, 228
Pennywit, Captain, pioneer western steamboatman, 311
Pensacola, British evacuation of, 283
Perez, Manuel, Spanish governor of the Missouri district, 121
"Pest Ships," 55, 67
Petit, Joseph, martyr patriot, 105
"Petticoat Insurrection," 57
Physiographic conditions affecting man, 13
Pickering, Senator, 223
Piernas, Capt. Pedro, Spanish governor of the Missouri district, 120
Pignabel, Jean, of La Salle's expeditionary force, 47
Pike, Lieut. Zebulon, 371
Pinckney, Thomas, minister to Spain, 183
Piney-woods folks, 259
Pioneer, Western, typical life history of, 257–258
Pirogues, 22
Platte Purchase, the, first violation of Missouri Compromise agreement, 327
Plauché, Major, 287
Plummer, Senator, 233
Point du Saible, Jean Baptiste, Chicago pioneer, 192, 250
Point Pleasant, battle, 26
Pollock, Oliver, the Robert Morris of the West, 154
Polypotamia, proposed State of, 228

Pontotoc, treaty of, 253
Populated areas, early western, 245–246
Population elements in the lower Valley, 243
Portages, 17–18
Pottawattomies, the, 340
Poupet, Pierre, martyr patriot, 105
Pouré, Don Eugenio, 157
Prairie du Chien, Wis., 340
Prairie du Rocher, Ill., 113
Prophet, the, Shawnee leader, 251
Prudhomme, Pierre, La Salle's armorer, 47
Pushmataha, Choctaw chief, 252
Putnam, Gen. Rufus, 246

Q

Quawpaws, the, 325
Quebec Act, 83
Quebec, founding of, 34
Quinipissas, the, 47

R

"Raccoon Bridge," 14
Radeaux, 23
Railroads in western development, 302
Randolph, Thomas, Indiana pro-slavery agitator, 315
Reed, Capt. Joseph, Western pioneer steamboatman, 311
Remedial legislation on western lands, 332
Rios, Capt. Francisco, Spanish governor of the Missouri district, 120
River Raisin massacre, 279
Roosevelt, Nicholas J., 306, 309–310

S

Sabine boundary, 346
Sabine, free state of, 347
Sac-and-Fox Treaty of 1804, 350
Sac-and-Fox War, 339
St. Anne, Ill., French post, 113
St. Charles, Mo., founding of, 120
St. Clair, Gen., 247–248
St. Croix River, 18
St. Denis, French explorer, 58
St. Genevieve, Mo., founding of, 117
St. Joseph-Kankakee portage, 19
St. Joseph, Mich., Spanish expedition against, 157
St. Louis, Mo., founding of, 118; rapid growth, 300
St. Louis River, early name for Mississippi, 48
St. Martinsville, La., historic valley settlement, 136, 273
St. Philippe, Ill., French post, 113
Salcedo, Don Juan de, Spanish governor, 113
Sandusky-Scioto portage, 20
San Ildefonso Treaty, 188
Santa Fé Trade, beginnings of the, 370
Santo Domingo revolt retards French re-occupation of the Valley, 191
Saratoga, proposed State of, 229
Sargent, Winthrop, Governor of Mississippi Territory, 233
Sauvé, Creole commissioner to Washington, 223
Schurz, Carl, 369
Scotch-Irish in the Alleghany region, 78; as Western pioneers, 261
Separatist movement in Kentucky, 1784–1790, 175
Sevier, Gen. John, 238
Shreve, Capt. Henry M., Western pioneer steamboatman, 310
Sigel, Gen. Franz, 369
Sinclair's expedition against St. Louis, 157
Slave labor, inefficiency of, 323
Slave-owner immigration to Missouri, 320
Slave traders, Mississippi River, 304
Slavery question in Indiana, 315
Social forces analyzed, 7
Southerner and Easterner as Western pioneers, 325–326
Spain's power in America, decline of, 184
Spanish colonial government in the Valley; how organized, 107
Spanish governors of the Valley, their characteristics, 112
Spanish Treaty of 1795, 183

Specie payment exaction for Western land purchases, 330–331
Speculation, Western land, 330
Spoliation claims, 201
Spottswood, Virginia governor and early Western explorer, 78
Squatter sovereignty, 315; germ idea of "self-determination," 327
Steamboat building activities, Western, 309
Steamboat navigation in the West, attempted monopoly of, 309; its effect upon the development of the West, 312
Steamboat travel, popularity of, 308
Steamboating, Western, rapid development of, 311
Sterling, Capt., 120
Stoddard, Capt. Amos, 212
Sylvania, proposed State of, 228
Symmes, John Cleves, 246, 330

T

Talleyrand, 187
Tallushatchie, battle of, 252
Taylor, Gen. Zachary, commanding in Sac-and-Fox War, 340
Tecumseh, Chief, 251–252
Territorial government under Ordinance of 1787, 231–232
Territory south of River Ohio, 226
Tesson, Louis, early Iowa pioneer, 371
Texas independence, how won, 352
Thames, battle of the, 279
Theatres, floating, 304
Thomas, Gen. Philemon, leads West Florida revolt, 214
Thomas, Senator, and the Missouri Compromise, 322
Thornton, Col., at battle of New Orleans, 295
Tippecanoe, battle of, 251
Tohopeka, battle of, 252
Tonti, Henri de, 41
Traces, Indian, facilitators of Western pioneer travel, 15
Trails, Indian, 14
Trudeau, Zenon, Spanish governor of the Missouri district, 121

U

Ulloa, Don Antonio de, 91–97
Unzaga, Don Luis de, 112

V

Vallère, Grant's body-servant at Natchitoches, 360
Valle, Jean Baptiste and Francis, Illinois pioneer traders, 117
Vaudreuil, Marquis de, French governor of the Mississippi Valley, 122
Versuvius, the third steamboat to reach New Orleans, 310
Victor, Gen., 205
Vieux Carré, old French quarter of New Orleans, 203
Vigo, Don Francisco, 150
Villeré, Major Gabriel, 287
Villeré, Joseph, martyr patriot, 90
Villiers, Coulon de, 81
Villiers, Jumonville de, 81
Vincennes, capital of Indiana Territory, 234; Clark's capture of, 151; Slavery Convention of 1802, 315
Virginian, the first steamboat to ascend the upper Mississippi, 311
Voyageurs, 59

W

"Wabash Coat of Arms," 303
War of 1812, 278–285
Washington, George, messenger, 80; defeats Jummonville de Villiers, 81; is defeated by Coulon de Villiers, 81
Washington, proposed State of, 229
Waverly, the, first steamboat on White River, Ark., 311
Wayne, Gen. Anthony, 248
West Florida, Spanish conquest of, 158, 159; revolt of, 214
Western pioneer, personal characteristics of, 264–265
Western posts, British over-retention of, 247
Western reserve, the, 225, 249
Westward movement basically instinctive, 9

Whiskey in Western pioneer life, 269–270
Whistler, Capt. John, 250
Wilderness Road, the, 16
Wilkinson, Gen. James, 110, 175, 178, 209, 235
Willing's raid, 152
Wisconsin, early exploration of, 35; territory, 234, 235
Witches' Ballroom, 55

Y

Yazoo claims, 183
You, Dominique, 204
You, Pierre, 47
Yrujo, Spanish minister, 195

Z

Zenobe, Father, 46
Zoarites, as Western pioneers, 365

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